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Ambassador Presents Credentials to Bulgaria's Zhivkov
AU0609190788 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Text] On 5 September 1988, Bashkim Rama, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, presented his letters of credential to Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Petur Mladenov, minister for foreign affairs, and Nikola Manolov, secretary to the State Council, were also present at the ceremony.

Alia Greets Bulgaria's Zhivkov on Liberation Day
AU0809193888 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following greetings telegram to Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

The anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation day gives me the pleasure, in the name of the Albanian people and the Presidium of the People's Assembly to send you best wishes and greetings for the happiness of the Bulgarian people and the development and progress of their homeland. I express the wish that the traditional friendship between our two peoples will continually develop.

Alia's Speeches Published in Book Form
AU3008185288 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] A new volume of Comrade Ramiz Alia's speeches and discussions in 1987 has been published. The book includes items from the June - December period, some of which are appearing for the first time. It includes speeches and discussions held in various party forums, and during visits to Durres, Kavaje, Tirana, Librazhd, Mat, Rreshen, and Vlore. Among the most important are "Vigor and Dynamism in the Management of the Economy Pave the Way for Plan Fulfillment," "Socialist Property Is Strengthened by Work for Protecting It, and Is in the Interest of the Whole of Albania," "The Secondary School Is a Vital Link in the Consolidation of the Education System," and others. All the contents view problems and set out tasks for communists, cadres, and the entire people in implementing the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress and the plenums of the AWP Central Committee.

Trade Unionists Return From Libya
AU0809113688 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Tirana, September 8 (ATA)— The delegation of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, headed by the secretary of this council, Stavri Rista, that at the invitation of the General Congress of Producers of Libya attended the celebrations of September 1st, the national day of the Libyan people, returned home.

Kadare Novel on Break With China Published
AU0709142088 Tirana DRITA in Albanian 4 Sep 88 p 7

["New Books" column]

[Excerpt] The Naim Frasheri Publish House has just issued a new novel, "Concert at Winter's End", by Ismail Kadare.

As the title shows, the book is a sequel to "The Great Winter," but events have assumed another course, and now reflect our party's great confrontation with Chinese revisionism.

Another "winter" is described by Kadare's masterly pen, and the concert which brings it to a symbolic end is a sure herald of spring: victory is at the threshold. At the center Kadare's new novel are the heroic steadfastness of the Albanian communists, that grows stronger in the course of the novel until it triumphs over revisionist intimidation and blackmail, and an anatomy of Chinese revisionism, that most treacherous current of thought in the bosom of the world communist movement. The characters portrayed in the book, such as Besnik Struga, Skender Bermema, Mark and the group of members of the overthrown classes, and so forth, some of which are taken from "The Great Winter" and who develop according to new historical circumstances, enrich the author's gallery of character portraits. Other characters, such as Gjergj, Silva, Saimir, Simon Dersha, and others, are tied to these characters by ties of family, friendship, or interests of other kinds. [Passage omitted]

Zhivkov Attends 9 Sep National Day Ceremony

AU0909082788 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 0800 GMT on 9 September broadcasts a 15-minute live relay of a ceremony to hoist the Bulgarian national flag and the flag of the BCP in Sofia's 9 September Square on the occasion of the country's National Day—the anniversary of the socialist revolution on 9 September 1944.

At 0801 GMT, an unidentified reporter describes the festive atmosphere in the square, and the presence of numerous citizens, party veterans, folklore groups from all over the country, students, and pioneers, as well as official guests. He announces the presence of "party and state leaders, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov" on the honorary tribune, who are greeted with applause.

At 0803 GMT, a ceremonial trumpet announces the changing of the guard, "inspected by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council."

Following this ceremony, the flag bearers, who are meritorious workers, party veterans, and young Komsomol members, hoist the Bulgarian national flag and the flag of the BCP while the national anthem is played, after which the officials are reported as laying wreaths at the Dimitrov mausoleum.

The wreath-laying ceremony is accompanied by a ceremonial march, followed by the "International."

At 0815 GMT, the official ceremonies are reported to be ending and a festive folk dance performance by young students and pioneers begins.

No speeches are delivered at the ceremony.

Following the live relay of the national Day ceremony, the reporter announces that Sofia Domestic Service will continue its live relay with celebrations and folklore performances from Sofia and other parts of the country until approximately 0930 GMT. The reporter does not announce that there will be any additional official ceremonies.

Filipov Speech at Anniversary Meeting

AU0809175188 Sofia BTA in English 1655 GMT 8 Sep 88

["Bulgaria On the Road of Innovation and Progress"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 8 (BTA)—About Bulgaria's achievements during the years of socialist construction spoke today Mr. Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP.

At a ceremonial meeting on the occasion of the national holiday of this country—September 9th, in the presence of Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, and other party and state leaders Mr. Grisha Filipov pointed out the importance of the April Plenum of the CC of the BCP (1956) for the elimination of voluntarism, dogmatism and personality cult, for the restoration of the Leninist norms and principles of party and social life. He stressed the successes in the socio-economic development during the last three decades, emphasized the consolidation of the national self-confidence of Bulgarians, the grown international prestige of the country.

Dwelling on the restructuring underway in Bulgaria in all spheres of life the speaker pointed out that this process is not an improvement of what has been created but deep revolutionary changes, transition to qualitatively new model of socialism in this country, adequate to the new realities. The aim is to build such a highly developed society which will be open to everything new, which will implement the principles of humanism and justice to the full.

The speaker added that the restructuring in Bulgaria is an indivisible part of the innovative processes in the socialist countries, that in its basic aims and tasks it coincides with the restructuring process in the Soviet Union.

The dimensions and the dynamics of the changes in Bulgaria would have been unthinkable without the radical changes underway in the Soviet state, said Mr. Grisha Filipov.

He pointed out that the concept for the present restructuring in Bulgaria is based on Marxism-Leninism and it is a result of the continuous search of the collective brain of the BCP.

Further on Mr. Grisha Filipov spoke of the principles and approaches in the further construction of socialism. The approach to the further resolution of the main question—the question about power, is qualitatively new. The entire innovation of the socialist society would be impossible today without its turning into a self-governing society. This means raising to a new, higher level the power of the people on the basis of self-government principles, eliminating the administrative-buraucratic system which has entered all political structures and establishing a real people's self-government, making the transition from power "in the name of the people" to "power through the people itself." The revolutionary innovation of society is related to the qualitative increase of the role of the socialist state and the new manifestation of the principle of democratic centralism. Relieving of a number of old functions without lessening its role the people's democratic state concentrates its efforts on what is most important: The strategic government of society and will act as a tool of people's power. The forms, content and methods of work of all state bodies are undergoing changes. They turn into bodies of people's self government and realize their functions mainly through economic methods and regulators.

Mr. Grisha Filipov pointed out that the new stage the country has entered upon in its development is connected with the increase of the leading and guiding role of the Communist Party. The party has been relieved from all functions alien to it, from being "a level" in the hierarchy of state power and a principal subject of power. Party and state bodies can be not only partners, but also opponents if need it be. The important thing is to influence the processes of innovation which are under way in society, to extend rights and make obligations concrete, to increase the role of the communists in all working teams and territorial management units, in all bodies and institutions.

The public organizations are also being restructured. The unity between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party has reached a new level. The different associations of the citizens, formed at their free will, will acquire a particular importance. "Socialist pluralism is developing," said Mr. Grisha Filipov.

It is pointed out in the report that the first results from the one-year work after the July Plenum of the CC of the BCP, at which the restructuring concepts were worked out, give ground for optimism.

The self-managing economic organizations and the self-governing territorial bodies have already been formed and are strengthening their positions. Economic incentives and regulators are taking their priority place in the management of the national economy. A considerable upsurge in the economic life is apparent: The rate of economic growth has been definitely increased thanks to the intensive factors which are at work. The system of artificial ranks and the attributes of power are gradually dying out.

"The July Concepts are entering people's consciousness strongly and categorically - the restructuring is becoming an irreversible process" Mr. Grisha Filipov went on.

Commenting on the foreign policy of Bulgaria, he said that its course, which is the same as that followed by the other socialist fraternal countries, is based on the new philosophy in the international relations and on new political thinking, most of the credit for which goes to the Soviet Union and the Soviet party and state leaders.

"The strengthening and the advancement of the relations with the socialist countries and, in the first place, the friendship and the all-round rapprochement with the Soviet Union will continue to be the main guideline in the foreign policy of Bulgaria," Mr. Grisha Filipov added.

He also pointed out the efforts of Bulgaria aimed at making the positive trends in the international life on the Balkans prevailing.

Mladenov Greets Nonaligned Countries Conference

AU0809121288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Sep 88 p 6

[Text] Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, has sent a message to the Nicosia conference of the nonaligned countries' foreign ministers, which contains best wishes for successful and fruitful work.

The message stresses that the People's Republic of Bulgaria highly values the increasing role of the Movement of the Nonaligned Countries in analyzing and solving the global problems of our ever more mutually dependent world and in forming the new political thinking. Confidence is expressed that in conditions of transition from confrontation to cooperation in international life the conference in Nicosia will actively cooperate in further advancing along the road of real nuclear disarmament and politically solving conflict situations, overcoming underdevelopment, and restructuring international relations on a just, humane, and democratic basis.

The message confirms the sincere willingness and readiness of our country to develop and strengthen constructive cooperation with the nonaligned countries in the noble cause related to creating a world without weapons and violence and constructing a comprehensive system of international peace and security, capable of coping with the challenges of the 21st century.

Central Committee Message to Madagascar Congress

AU0809125788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Sep 88 p 6

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent a message to the Congress Party for Madagascar Independence on the opening of its congress and the 30th anniversary of its founding.

The message expresses confidence that the congress will adopt important decisions on rallying the working people in the struggle for strengthening the economic independence and national sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, and on its further progressive socioeconomic development.

Your party's peaceful foreign policy enjoys great international support. It aims at achieving the brightest universal ideals—removing every threat of a nuclear catastrophe and all wars by means of disarmament and eliminating misery, oppression, and exploitation, the message reads.

We highly value your party's contribution to strengthening the unity of the African nations in their struggle against apartheid, removing all forms of imperialist, colonial, and neocolonial oppression from Africa, which has gone through so much suffering, and solving the raging regional conflicts in various parts of the continent by political means.

In conclusion the message expresses readiness to expand friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the Congress Party for Madagascar Independence, in the interest of our two friendly nations, and world peace and social progress.

USSR Nuclear Power Industry Exhibition

AU0809122188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Sep 88 p 6

[Khristo Kamenov report: "Exhibition of USSR Nuclear Power Industry"]

[Text] Nuclear energy, one of mankind's greatest achievements, must serve only humane goals. The USSR is the first country in the world to have directed that immense power toward peace and progress, and it is using it in the reactors of the electric power stations and ships, and in science, industry, agriculture, and medicine. This was also demonstrated in the "Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy" Exhibition, which opened at Sofia's Club of USSR Science and Culture on 6 September.

The basic themes of the exhibition are:

—Subjecting the Nuclear Power Industry to Humanitarian Principles;
—Making the level of safety correspond to the level of danger; and
—Renewal on the basis of the most modern scientific-technical achievements.

The opening of the exhibition was attended by the Soviet delegation led by Nikolay Babyaev, doctor of physics and mathematics and deputy chairman of the Main Scientific-Technical Administration of the State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy, who opened the exhibition. Yuriy Marshalko, advisor at the USSR Embassy in Sofia, also attended the opening of the exhibition.

Events related to the exhibition, such as meetings with our specialists, the showing of movies and videofilms, and a scientific-technical seminar, are planned.

Leaders' Public Appearances 25 Aug - 2 Sep

AU0309141688 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and BTA during the 27 August - 2 September monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, held a meeting in the Black Sea resort of Primorsko on 25 August with vacationing youth groups from Bulgaria and other countries. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Aug 88 p 1) In Varna on 31 August he received a Japanese business delegation led by Michia Matsukawa. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 Aug 88)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, visited the marching cadets from the G.S. Rakovski Military Academy in the village of Malka Bereya in the Balkan range on 25 August, and later on the same day joined another column of young soldiers at Starozagorski Bani. (Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 26 Aug 88 pp 1, 3) In Stara Zagora on 27 August Dzhurov took part in a commissioning ceremony for graduate cadets from the G. Rakovski Military Academy and other military schools, delivering an address to the young servicemen. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Aug 88)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, received in Sofia on 2 September the deputy foreign ministers of East European countries who had participated in 2 days of talks on peace, security, and East - West relations. (Sofia BTA in English 1447 GMT 2 Sep 88)

Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received in Sofia on 30 August a PRC youth delegation led by Song Defu, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League of China. (Sofia BTA in English 1632 GMT 30 Aug 88) In Sofia on 1 September Yotov attended a Libyan National Day reception given by (Omar Muftah Dallal), representative of the People's Committee of the Libyan People's Bureau in Bulgaria. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 1 Sep 88) Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, signed a trade agreement and protocols on commercial talks held in Sofia on 29 August with Enrique Cornejo, minister of state and president of the Institute of Foreign Trade of Peru. (Sofia BTA in English 1937 GMT 29 Aug 88)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, attended a national day reception given by the Uruguayan ambassador in Sofia on 25 August. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Aug 88 p 6)

Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, returned to Sofia on 27 August at the head of a BCP delegation that attended the 10th Conference of Zambia's United National Independence Party. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Aug 88 p 2)

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, welcomed Emil Khristov and his delegation at Sofia Airport on 27 August on their return from Zambia. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Aug 88 p 2)

Jakes Continues Visit to South Bohemia Region

Views 'Difficult Process' of Reform

LD0809130388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Summary] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and who was accompanied by Karel Hoffmann, continued his working visit to the South Bohemian region on 7 September. Roman Zamboch and Lubos Lidicky report from Ceske Budejovice that during that morning the visitors took part in an aktiv of party and state officials.

[Reporter] The aktiv was also addressed by Comrade Milos Jakes. He praised the open and critical spirit with which the participants in the aktiv assessed the current progress in safeguarding party policy in the conditions of the region. He also discussed the current tasks faced by our society. In connection with this he said:

[Begin Jakes recording] Restructuring is a complicated and difficult process inasmuch as it requires changes in the people's approaches. In many cases it also requires changes in the positions of individuals in management structures. We must be consistent in implementing fully, despite problems and difficulties, what we have undertaken.

If I am to briefly describe our current situation, I can say that the old has begun to change, and that the new is still not fully established. Naturally, a number of problems, difficulties, and questions which must be reassessed stem from this. The process of restructuring must continue. We must make the correct conclusions for the future. The center of our attention must be formed by consistent implementation of the conclusion of the seventh and the ninth sessions of the party Central Committee. Therefore, it is necessary that these conclusions be mastered not only by all officials, but also substantially by the people. They should know them, and they should know what we want to do and should understand how they can, from the point of view of their interests and the implementation of the interests of the entire society, contribute toward this process.

Naturally, it is not only the future that is involved. The present is important, and there is a mutual interconnection. We must now take steps in order to achieve the aims which we have set for ourselves in the future. It is obvious that the main focus for achieving these prerequisites is concentrated on fulfilling the tasks in the economic sphere: order in this sector, as well as high efficiency in our economy on the basis of the people's initiative, implementation of the results of science and technology, new economic stimuli stemming from the economic reform, and the training and utilization of cadres. This is what is exceptionally important today.

Successful fulfillment of tasks in our economy influences public opinion and creates conditions and prerequisites for the people to more forcefully support the implementation of the reform. We must strive for the steps we are now making to have a positive outcome and for the people to realize what is still present from the old that we could not change and what new things are present. They must also realize that the new is already being reflected positively.

How do people assess politics and its results? Well, according to how their needs are being satisfied, how much they earn, whether or not remuneration in enterprises is just, what the situation is like in markets, how their needs are satisfied as far as services are concerned, what the quality and standard of health care and education are, and how and how fairly the housing problem is being tackled. If we are to strengthen the trust of the people in the reform's efficiency, we must successfully fulfill the tasks of the current year. [end recording]

[Reporter] In the afternoon Comrades Milos Jakes and Karel Hoffmann viewed the building site of our largest nuclear power station in Temelin. Comrade Jakes was interested in fulfilling the plan. According to what the director of the nuclear power station said, all the tasks are being fulfilled according to the plan. However, he expressed his apprehensions regarding relations with the newly created state enterprises as suppliers for whom Temelin is ceasing to be the priority.

Comrade Jakes also viewed in detail the construction of the first cooling tower. Only 22 meters remain to be built; the entire height will be 155 meters. He was also interested in the future safety of the power station, and there was a discussion about safeguarding the working people of the power station from radiation. After viewing the building site, the working visit of Milos Jakes in the South Bohemian region concluded.

Discusses Enterprise Reform

LD0809132988 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Report on a speech by CPCZ General Secretary Milos Jakes while on a "working visit" to the South Bohemian region; date of speech not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] Comrade Milos Jakes, CPCZ general secretary, who is on a working visit to the South Bohemian region, participated in an aktiv of prominent worker communists from industry, agriculture, national committees, organizations of the National Front, and other areas of the South Bohemian region. [passage omitted]

Comrade Milos Jakes, CPCZ general secretary, also spoke at the aktiv. He said in his speech that one cannot give up the path one has started to follow. This is also the task for party organizations. He said in this connection that problems which prevent further advancement still persist.

[Begin Jakes recording] If I am to describe our current situation in a few words, I can say that the old has started to change, and the new is still not fully established. It will take some time to get the new through. Our attention must

be concentrated on the thorough implementation of the conclusions of the seventh and ninth sessions of the party Central Committee. What yardstick do people use to evaluate a policy and its results? Not by words and good declarations. To start with, they might base their judgement on them, too—whether they are in harmony with their wishes—but the final judgement is made on the basis of specific results. In this connection I would like to empahsize one fact: The most important thing is to depart from the directive administrative method and make use of economic instruments in management. In its own way it is coercion, but of a different sort. It is not administrative ordering but rather coercion from the position: You will live according to the way you produce. And you have to act accordingly. If you produce poor-quality products at high prices, you will not live well. And in this connection it is also necessary to give the right to a working collective to make a decision, under these circumstances, on many key issues—that is, who will be a director in an enterprise, because this is an important issue. Therefore, directors will be elected. Another issue is the way working people affect the running of their enterprises. Therefore, here is a working collective council which is to be elected. The enterprise will decide, on the basis of the results it achieves, about its wage policy, and particularly about rewards. This is the basic attitude. [end recording]

It is necessary to follow the path of structural changes, of innovation, of the speedy application of the results of science and technology in practice. There are still considerable reserves there, Jakes said.

[Begin Jakes recording] With regard to the National Front: The National Front must get moving; it must enter the political arena more. Debates should be held, on the bases of the National Front, during which issues should be at the forefront. Along with the national committees, an agreement should be reached on how to implement these tasks, how to mobilize people jointly, and how tasks should be divided. Our political system, these great possibilities which we have, must be firmly activated. [end recording]

It is necessary to abandon mediocrity and comfort, and to concentrate on the implementation of the current tasks. This is the only way toward implementing the aims of restructuring, said Comrade Jakes.

Today Comrade Milos Jakes, Karel Hoffmann, and other comrades also visited the construction site of the Temelin nuclear power station. [passage omitted] Comrade Milos Jakes then had a short discussion with representatives of the committee at the CPCZ building site.

Jakes Chairs Meeting With Regional Secretaries

LD0809173588 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] A statewide meeting was held in Prague today with chief secretaries of regional committees and the Prague and Bratislava City party committees. It was chaired by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Taking part in the meeting were members and candidate members of the party's Central Committee Presidium, the chairman of the party Central Control and Auditing Commission, and members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat.

The meeting assessed the results achieved in the individual regions and in the whole Republic in implementing the program guideline of the 17th Party Congress and fulfilling the conclusions of the 7th and 9th sessions of the party's Central Committee. Based on the deliberations of all the regional committees and the Prague and Bratislava City party committees, there was a critical assessment of the fulfillment of the plan's aims for economic and social development. The attention of party organs was drawn to the fulfillment of the plan's qualitative indices and on the preparation of the national economic plan for next year.

The meeting's participants discussed the experiences of the development of the party's work in safeguarding the tasks of restructuring economic mechanisms and expanding socialist democracy and public information. They also discussed the experiences of forming party organs set up in state enterprise and of elections of self governing organs of labor collectives and directors.

They discussed the progress in preparing for the 10th session of the party's Central Committee on ideological work and discussed the scope of the main problems. The meeting also discussed initiatives from the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and drew the attention of chief officials on their active and creative utilization in tackling the topical tasks of the CPCZ.

Daily on 'Difficulties' in Power Engineering

AU0409144388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Aug 88 p 4

[Pavel Paral article in the "Economic Policy" column: "We Are Preparing Difficulties For Ourselves; Pondering the Progress of General Overhauls"]

[Excerpts] There were considerable deviations in the implementation of the plan of general overhauls of large power plants' blocks during the past year. The delayed general overhauls—the result of problems with suppliers—last year began to imperil the—for the time being—stabilized power engineering system and was dangerous to the maintenance of smooth electricity deliveries, particularly by the end of the year. [passage omitted]

This year we must repair 93 boilers, 52 turbogenerators, and 7 reactors. Their quality and timely realization will influence not only the energy balance sheet, but also to a certain extent, the economy of the operation of the entire energy system.

However, last year's difficulties are repeating themselves. Our power engineering is short of breath. It is causing the overloading of capacities in the Skoda concern. Difficulties are also continuing in cooperating with the Romanian Vulcan enterprise. Whereas in past years it was, in particular, the deliveries of spare parts for boilers that were late, this year the sources of difficulties were augmented by problems with turbines.

At the beginning of the year it was necessary—because of the shortage of spare parts—to postpone some general overhauls, in some cases even by several weeks. Because of the late technical clarification of what needed repairing and the late arrival of spare parts, the overhaul of the fourth block of the Tusimice power plant was postponed by a month. Because of the late production of spare parts in Romania, the beginning of the repair of the third block in Pocerady fell 7 weeks behind schedule, and the extent of the repair had to be scaled down. Also, the repair in Detmarovice was postponed by 3 months. As of late as May, that is actually in the middle of the repair season, the schedule for 7 general overhauls had to be changed. [passage omitted]

This shows that the problems with the import of spare parts are to be blamed, among other things, on poorly prepared contracts. It is no exception when during the period of a spare part's delivery, discussions crop up about who was supposed to deliver material for its manufacture. [passage omitted]

This year, which provided an extremely severe frost at the beginning of the winter, will not disrupt our plans; shortfalls and the postponed repairs will not endanger the production of our power engineering sector. We are paying for it with a greater risk of a breakdown of blocks whose repairs have been postponed until next year or whose repairs have been scaled down. However, a reliable operation of the energy system is the foundation of the functioning of our entire economy. Therefore, fundamental changes in the manner of ensuring the general overhauls of large power engineering blocks are inevitable.

Trade Union Council Chairman Addresses Rally

LD0409152888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] At peace rallies of working people and citizens in the South Moravian Districts of Znojmo, Prostejov, Vyskov, and Brno, participants supported the policies of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Miroslav Zavadil, candidate member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, speaking at a peace rally and celebration of the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship in Kurim near Brno today, stressed that we are proud of the great successes we have achieved in Czechoslovakia in the past 40 years of building socialism. Then he noted that to implement the pronounced socialist policy, which is inseparably linked with restructuring, we need good results, which are born in working collectives where people know each other best. It is in our vital interest, therefore, Miroslav Zavadil said, to strengthen in people the socialist morals, order, and discipline to develop initiative at work, socialist competition, and activity of the Brigades of Socialist Labor.

OIRT Official Views Media Cooperation

LD0509134088 Prague CTK in English 1257 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Prague Sept 5 (CTK)—One of the expressions of the more favourable political climate is an increasing interest of television and radio companies in cooperation with the Prague-based International Radio and Television Organization (OIRT).

Last June the West German ARD and ZDF television companies, Yugoslav radio and television and Catalan radio became associate members of OIRT, thus joining the Japanese NHK and Asahi TV companies.

Recently French television and radio, the Italian RAI company and several Scandinavian organizations have expressed interest in membership of OIRT. After a 20-year old interval also the Chinese radio and television restored cooperation.

As OIRT General Secretary Gennadij Codr told CTK the main reason for an increasing attractiveness of this non-governmental organization is, besides the favourable political situation, also the effort to use common cultural traditions of European countries and face the pressure of U.S. culture. Associate OIRT members can participate in exchanges of programs between member countries, work of permanent commissions and the development of new technical equipment.

Contrary to other radio and television unions OIRT is a world organization. It was founded in 1946 and is based on the principles of the United Nations Charter. Its members are 23 radio and television companies from Europe, Asia, Africa and America. OIRT creates a basis for their cooperation concerning programs as well as technical and legal spheres.

Czechoslovakia has been the host country of the OIRT permanent bodies and one of the most active members of the organization since 1951 when several West European organizations withdrew from OIRT to create their own union UBU [expansion unknown].

"Czechoslovakia significantly contributes to the OIRT program offer, being at the second place as regards its bulk after the Soviet Union. It is one of the most active members of the OIRT technical commission", Gennadij Codr said.

He pointed to an ever greater interest of non-member organizations in OIRT news shots and radio and television programs. While in 1986 the Eurovision

countries took over 315 news shots, last year it was already 506 of the total number of 6,798 shots of the OIRT service. The exchange of programs remains at an approximately same level.

Last year Eurovision bought 247 OIRT programs lasting 337 hours, while Intervision countries received 706 Eurovision programs lasting 1,410 hours. Czechoslovak television took over 206 programs, mostly sports transmissions, Gennadij Codr said.

He spoke also of new tasks of OIRT. Besides the improvement and extension of the program composition and exchange OIRT faces new tasks mainly in the technical sphere.

OIRT, which was the first world union to use satellite connection in news transmission, strives for further primacy. It intends to introduce a simultaneous exchange of picture and text by means of a television signal. The system which is being developed by OIRT in cooperation with the international television agency WTN [World Television Network] would be put into operation at the end of this year, Gennadij Codr said.

Grain, Sugar Beet, Potato Harvest Satisfactory
AU3108121788 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 30 Aug 88 p 2

[Jindrich Stepanek article in the "Commentary" column: "Time To Draw Balance Sheets Has Begun"]

[Excerpts] Harvesting combines are now at work only in the higher lying border districts (the North Bohemian farmers had only 5,000 hectares left to harvest yesterday), the greater part of grain is in silos, and thus the time has begun for farmers to draw the first balance sheets. One has to note that the final account will not be as bad as they expected last spring. Although the lack of rain is to blame for the June estimates of the grain crop indicating shortfall of 525,000 metric tons in the Czech SR, it is now clear that we will not be short of even one-tenth of that quantity. [passage omitted]

With sugar beets, which were hit by the spring drought as much as grain, much has been decided too. The plowing under in the spring of 27,500 hectares in the Czech SR signaled the nonfulfillment of the plan; there was a danger of a shortage of sugar on our market. However, the Government of the Czech SR had decided that in order to ensure the supply of the domestic market, sugar will not be exported in such great quantities this year.

The third important field produce affected by the spring drought is potatoes. When we asked the Czech Ministry of Agriculture and Food yesterday what the—this year so frequently discussed—quality will be like, we were told that there is no reason for concern. The drought, in fact, only reduced the crop of early varieties, and at the moment we can even expect the harvest of later varieties to exceed last year's crop by 270,000 metric tons. [passage omitted] The first balance sheets indicate that there will be enough primary raw materials for food production, despite the less than ideal climatic conditions. [passage omitted]

Janak Attends Trnava 750th Anniversary Fete
LD0309150488 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1030 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Excerpt] The celebrations of the 750th anniversary of granting royal rights to Trnava are continuing today. Taking part is a delegation of the CPSL Central Committee, the National Front Central Committee, the Slovak National Council, and the Slovak Government, which is headed by Comrade Ignac Janak. [passage omitted]

Daily Praises State of Relations With FRG
AU0209120988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Sep 88 p 7

[Jan Kovarik article in the "Note" column: "On the Talks in Bonn"]

[Text] The meetings between the CSSR and the FRG Ministers of Foreign Affairs, B. Chnoupek and H.-D. Genscher, have been so regular in recent years that it is not the meetings themselves, but rather their content that attracts attention. This also is the case after the two ministers' 2-day talks in Bonn, when the West German media noted that the thread of talks between Prague and Bonn did not snap even at the time of the greatest cooling of relations between East And West.

On the Rhine it has been affirmed that bilateral relations are shifting into a stage when more attention is being paid to deeds than to declarations. This year's January visit by Chancellor Kohl to Czechoslovakia, and his talks with our highest representatives, have consulted in a new impetus. As it was agreed at that time, the main attention is focused on concrete measures whose final effect will benefit the general public of the two states, whether this be rapid preparation of seven agreements (on the protection of investments, scientific-technical collaboration, cooperation in transportation, and so forth), the exchange of technology in the sphere of communications, the production of consumer goods, and in the protection of the purity of the atmosphere and waters (equipment from the FRG is already being tested in operation in two Czechoslovak power plants), or improvements in processing the border traffic, including issuing visas at short notice. This quick review alone affirms that the CSSR and the FRG are beginning to fulfill the proposal submitted by Comrade M. Jakes—to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries—with concrete content. Minister Genscher expressed appreciation for this initiative and presented it as an example of also smaller and medium-sized states being able to make a considerable contribution to the improvement of the international atmosphere. The reports on CSSR Premier L. Strougal

being invited to pay a visit to the FRG, and on the planned visit by Federal President R. Weizsaecker to our country, also correspond to this spirit.

The two sides noted a marked shift in the quality of relations without concealing that there exist issues on which they have different views. Among these, for example, are: the proposal by the CSSR and the GDR to establish a zone without nuclear and chemical weapons in central Europe (the FRG favors a global ban on chemical weapons), the activity in the FRG of forces that are submitting demands that threaten the integrity of the CSSR, the prosecution of war criminal Malloth, whose extradition we have asked for, and similar matters. We do not conceal that on these issues our views do not agree, but this does not mean that we cannot discuss them. On the other hand, the will on both sides makes the further development of relations possible. And that shows that the relations are on a positive level, permeated by a matter-of-fact and frank approach, that they are characterized by the bilateral political will to deepen them.

DPRK Official Interviewed on Reunification

AU0509155288 Prage RUDE PRAVO in Czech 31 Aug 88 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Choe Song-ik, department head of the Committee for the Reunification of Korea, by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Vladimir Divis, in Pyongyang; date not given—opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction; "How To Reach Reunification"]

[Text] For the great majority of citizens of the DPRK, and also for those of South Korea, the Demilitarized Zone along the 38th parallel dividing the Korean peninsula represents an insurmountable obstacle. To blame for this is the policy of imperialism, which enforces the permanence of the partition of Korea. One of the few Koreans who have crossed the line is Comrade Choe Song-ik, department head of the Committee for the Reunification of Korea, which was set up on the initiative of the highest DPRK party and state bodies. Some 3 years ago, he participated as member of a North Korean Red Cross delegation in talks in Seoul on solving some humanitarian issues. While visiting the DPRK, our Beijing correspondent asked him for an interview.

[Divis] After a hiatus of 3 years, new talks between representatives of the North and the South, this time between representatives of the two parliaments, have recently been held at Panmunjom, in the Demilitarized Zone. Could you concisely characterize their course and what preceded them?

[Choe] On the basis of our initiative, two five-member delegations had a total of four meetings at the armistice line in the second half of August. I am sorry to say, however, that for the time being their many hours of discussions have not yielded the expected results.

[Divis] Who comprised the two delegations?

[Choe] In view of their proportional representation in our supreme legislative body, three representatives of the Workers Party of Korea and one representative each of the Social Democratic Party and of the Religious Chungu Party, who together form the DPRK National Front, represented our side at the conference table.

[Divis] ...And the South Korean side?

[Choe] Opposition bourgeois liberal parties now avail themselves of a simple majority in the South Korean parliament, which is why the three strongest opposition parties each sent one representative to Panmunjom. The head of the Southern delegation and its fifth member were both members of the ruling Democratic Justice Party of President No Tae-u.

[Divis] Considerable difficulties reportedly surfaced during the preparations for the meeting, which took place by telephone and by mail.

[Choe] Yes, there were differences of principle. We proposed a meeting between all deputies of the two parliaments—that is, 655 deputies from our side and 299 from the South. However, because we hold the view that the current parliament in Seoul does not fully represent the interests of all Koreans living in the South, we put forward the initiative to further extend these numerous delegations with 50 representatives of social organizations and the public on each side.

[Divis] How did the South Korean side respond to this?

[Choe] They turned down our proposal. On the contrary, they themselves presented a counterproposal for talks between two 20-member delegations made up of civil servants and experts of the ministries of foreign affairs. Moreover, from the very beginning they demanded that a so-called preparatory procedural meeting be held first to determine what the subsequent negotiations should be about. In view of bad previous experience with similar fruitless and protracted meetings that only deceived the world public, we insisted that the delegations discuss the key problems right away.

[Divis] What are the key problems, in your opinion?

[Choe] First of all it is necessary to draft a nonaggression pact, which should become the acid test of the feasibility of a subsequent gradual reunification of Korea. Furthermore, it is necessary to take effective measures to reduce tension on the peninsula and to resolve pressing humanitarian problems, especially with regard to the unification of divided families. And last but not least, we wanted to discuss questions concerning the equal cohosting of the 1988 Olympics and some other current issues.

[Divis] What were the intentions with which the South Korean side approached the recent talks?

[Choe] Their plan was simple. They were only interested in the smooth course of the Olympic Games. On the other hand, however, this did not prevent them from deliberately avoiding discussions on Pyongyang becoming a co-organizer. In fact, they only formally invited our athletes to Seoul. Besides, they tried to press for the idea of a joint Korean sports team, in which the DPRK would be represented only by a symbolic number of sportsmen. They did not mind in the least that this proposal runs counter to Olympic rules, because both parts of Korea are independent and full-fledged members of the International Olympic Committee.

[Divis] Why does Seoul not want to discuss practical steps toward reunification?

[Choe] For a plain reason. This would presuppose, even in the first phase, the withdrawal of all foreign troops and the abolition of foreign bases and other facilities belonging to other states on the Korean peninsula. The Americans, in particular, disagree with this; they have 42,000 troops and more than 1,000 nuclear warheads in the South. Even the present regime in Seoul does not want to stir up this hornet's nest because it fears that this would deprive it of an annual "recompense" in the form of loans worth hundreds of millions [currency not specified], advantageous terms for repaying its multibillion debts, and preferential supplies of high technology.

[Divis] Is there some way out of the present deadlock?

[Choe] Of course. The sincerity of the assurances being made by Seoul today about its interest in easing tension and developing peaceful cooperation on the peninsula will become evident right after the Olympic games. Moreover, No Tae-u (South Korean president—editor's note) promised to hold in the South, immediately after the games, a national referendum on his government. Should it really take place, and provided that its results are not manipulated and forged, it could then establish more favorable conditions for a new round of North - South negotiations.

[Divis] The DPRK Government has repeatedly proposed the start of a process of the country's peaceful reunification. In your opinion, what should the reunified Korean state be like, in the first stage?

[Choe] In line with Comrade Kim Il-song's proposal, it could be called the Federal Democratic Republic of Koryo [Korea] and be made up of two republics. Its foreign policy would be based on the principle of absolute neutrality and noninvolvement in any political - military alliance. In the course of subsequent general elections, the people would elect the two republics' parliaments and their supreme representatives, who—similarly as in Yugoslavia—would after serving some time alternate in the presidential function.

[Divis] But the North is socialist today, whereas the South is capitalist...

[Choe] In the first stage, the economic and political mechanisms in the two parts of the peninsula would be maintained, like the systems of Hongkong and Macao following their approaching unification with the PRC, according to Deng Xiaoping's principle of "one state—two systems."

However, even these seemingly tiny first steps would create favorable conditions for further developing and deepening the process of gradually reunifying our artificially divided country.

[Divis] Thank you for this interview.

Briefs

Print Shortage Affects Newspapers

According to Jan Frey, deputy director of the North Bohemian Paper Works [NBPW] in Steti, there is only one newsprint machine in the entire CSSR, and it produces 73,000 of the more than 75,000 metric tons of the country's annual newsprint consumption. The machine is to be modernized in 1991; the modernization, which is expected to take anything between 3 and 6 months, and will cost Kcs730 million, will be carried out by "one Polish enterprise." The modernization job will cause a shortfall of 20,000 metric tons of newsprint and although the NBPW is already taking measures, the current newsprint shortage is expected to last the next 3 years. After the modernization the machine is expected to produce more than 105,000 metric tons annually, among others, by reducing the newsprint weight from the present 52 grams to 48-45 grams per square meter. The current newsprint shortage in the CSSR, which has also caused the Saturday edition of RUDE PRAVO to be reduced by 4 pages 2 months ago, has been the result of the "nonimport of several thousand metric tons of newsprint from abroad," Jan Frey told RUDE PRAVO. [Summary] [*AU0609143188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Sep 88 p 2*]

Secret Youth Union Elections

Secret elections—the first ones of their kind in Slovakia—for chairman and secretary of the district committee of the Socialist Youth Union have been held in Bratislava's third district. Tibor Varga was elected chairman by a "close" majority of votes, and Peter Matus was unanimously elected chairman. [Summary] [*AU0609141688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Sep 88 p 2*]

Record Central Slovak Harvest

The farmers of Central Slovakia reported a 113 percent fulfillment of their procurement plan for densely sown cereals in Banska Bystrica yesterday. Last year's record harvest was exceeded by almost 30,500 tonnes and the planned production by over 77,000 tonnes. Thanks to this "best harvest in the history of socialist agriculture in

the region," Central Slovakia has already produced 66.2 percent of cereals planned for the entire 1986 - 90 period. [Summary] [*AU0609133088 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Sep 88 p 2*]

Mozambique Minister Ends Visit

Major General Mariano de Araujo Matsinhe, member of the Frelimo Party Central Committee and Mozambique's security minister, concluded his working visit to the CSSR on 2 September. During his stay he held talks with Vratislav Vajnar, CSSR minister of interior, "on expansion of cooperation between the security bodies of the two countries." [Summary] [*AU0609145088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Sep 88 p 3*]

FRG Friendship Delegation Visits

Prague Sept 6 (CTK)—Josef Kempny, Presidium member of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Czech National Council, received here today a delegation of the West 34-6-Czechoslovakia society, led by its Chairman John van Nes Ziegler. The delegation was received also by chairman of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations and Deputy Chairman of the Federal Assembly Bohuslav Kucera. [Text] [*LD0809030288 Prague CTK in English 2003 GMT 6 Sep 88*]

Cuban Deputy Minister Arrives

Hugo Vivar Castillo, deputy minister of transportation of the Republic of Cuba, discussed in Prague, with representatives of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, the ensurance of the transportation of the mutual trade exchange for the 1988-89 period and cooperation in maritime transport. The Cuban delegation was also received by Rastislav Chovan, CSSR deputy minister of transportation and communications. [Text] [*AU0609141488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Sep 88 p 2*]

Afghan Students Arrive

Some 180 Afghan boys and girls left Afghanistan for the CSSR at the end of August. In the CSSR they will undergo a one-year Czech or Slovak language course and will then study for 4-6 years at one of the secondary schools or institutes of higher learning. The young Afghans will join more than 400 of their fellow countrymen currently being trained in the CSSR for their future professions. [Summary] [*AU0609143688 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 31 Aug 88 p 2*]

Romanian Agronomists Arrive

A delegation of the Romanian National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives headed by Gheorghe Neagu, member of its Standing Bureau and secretary, arrived in Prague from Bucharest on 5 September. [Summary] [*AU0709144588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 88 p 2*]

Soviet Cooperative Official Visits

Frantisek Tesar, chairman of the Central Council of Cooperatives, received Pavel Fedirko, chairman of the USSR Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives, on 2 September. The two representatives briefed one another on topical issues concerning the development of cooperatives in their countries and discussed tasks connected with the further development of mutual cooperation. [Summary][*AU0609143488 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 3 Sep 88 p 2*]

Gerle Confers in Moscow

On Tuesday and Wednesday [30 and 31 August] in Moscow, Ladislav Gerle, CSSR minister of metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industry, continued his talks with Soviet Government officials on deepening Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation. Ladislav Gerle's talks with Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on Wednesday centered on the preparation and itemization of the coordination of national economic plans in the engineering sector for the next 5-year period. The two representatives also discussed some specific questions of bilateral cooperation, with special emphasis on an increase in Czechoslovak imports of Soviet engineering products. On Tuesday and Wednesday, L. Gerle also had talks with Soviet branch ministers. [Text][*AU0609133288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Sep 88 p 7*]

Obzina Visits DPRK

Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development, left Prague for the DPRK on Thursday [1 September] to head the Czechoslovak delegation to the Sixth Session of the Czechoslovak-Korean Consultative Committee for Economy, Science, and Technology between 2 and 7 September. [Text] [*AU0609141588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Sep 88 p 2*]

Ambassador to Mexico Accredited

Mexico (CTK)—Jiri Kubka, the new CSSR ambassador to Mexico, presented his papers of accreditation to President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado on Wednesday [31 August]. [Excerpt][*AU0609141288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Sep 88 p 6*]

Kessler, Warsaw Pact Generals Hold Talks

LD0809141088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1324 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 8 Sep (ADN)—Army General Heinz Kessler, GDR defense minister and member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee; Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states; and Army General Ivan Tretyak, deputy commander in chief of the joint Armed Forces and commander in chief of the Air Defense Forces, held an exchange of views on the current military-political situation and the defense tasks of the allied armies in Berlin on Thursday.

The first disarmament successes could not be overlooked, the two sides said. At the same time, the present NATO autumn maneuvers and the efforts by certain circles to compensate for the medium-range missiles due to be destroyed would not be conducive to the further course of detente.

Further Reportage on Visit of Hungary's Grosz

Begins Talks With Honecker

LD0809121788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1140 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 8 Sep (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, met for an initial friendly exchange of views at the Central Committee building Thursday morning.

Their talks centered on questions concerning the further shaping of the all-around relations between the two parties and states, and fundamental questions of the struggle to safeguard peace and disarmament.

Erich Honecker and Karoly Grosz underlined that the interests of the two parties and peoples completely coincide. Proceeding from this, it was noted that their bilateral relations have reached a high level. In both fraternal countries the realization of the treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance was being successfully carried out. The two general secretaries expressed the conviction that their present meeting would result in a fresh impetus for deepening their political, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural ties.

Referring to the international situation, Erich Honecker and Karoly Grosz stressed the need, in line with the proposals adopted at the latest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states, to continue the process of progressive disarmament and confidence-building. To do so it is necessary to replace confrontation with cooperation.

Further on Talks With Honecker

LD0809195788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1716 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 8 Sep (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, began their official talks today in the offices of the Central Committee.

During their exchange of views and experiences, which passed off in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual trust, Erich Honecker and Karoly Grosz briefed each other on internal political developments in their countries. Karoly Grosz spoke in some detail about the national MSZMP conference held this May, and on its results. Erich Honecker discussed the party program adopted by the Ninth SED Congress in 1976, in which the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR is described as a historic process of profound political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural change.

It was stressed that the SED and the MSZMP are united by the joint search for contemporary answers for meeting the new sociopolitical demands and to make socialism stronger and more attractive. In so doing it is only natural, in accordance with various national conditions, that different routes are taken. This is in line with the vital variety of socialism, which enriches the shared store of experience and lends even more weight to trusting cooperation. On this basis, Erich Honecker and Karoly Grosz favor the continuation of a regular exchange of experiences.

It was noted that there is a satisfactory development of direct contacts between the national state organs, scientific institutions, factories, cooperations, and cultural and educational institutions.

Erich Honecker and Karoly Grosz devoted particular attention to bilateral economic relations. They stressed the need to further strengthen cooperation in the structure-determining sectors, and to apply modern forms of cooperation on a broad basis. In this connection they advocated the further deepening of specialization and cooperation in accordance with the "long-term program for the development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation up to the year 2000," which the two countries concluded in 1985.

Another topic in the exchange of views between the general secretaries was the international situation. They expressed their satisfaction with the gradual strengthening of positive tendencies in international relations. Erich Honecker and Karoly Grosz reaffirmed that the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic would continue to work hard to make the recent improvements irreversible.

Both politicians expressed great respect for the initiatives of the Soviet party and state leadership, and those of Mikhail Gorbachev personally. They stressed the historic significance of the coming into force of the USSR-U.S. treaty on liquidating medium- and shorter-range missiles, and underlined the need to take immediate steps toward the radical reduction of military potentials, with equality and equal security being preserved. In this process, priority shou'd be given to halving U.S. and USSR strategic offensive weapons, with strict observation of the ABM Treaty; to a reduction in the number of and, finally, a total stop to tests of nuclear weapons; a complete ban on and the destruction of chemical weapons, and the reduction of forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals.

In this connection, Erich Honecker and Karoly Grosz stressed the growing importance of proposals for disarmament and the strengthening of security on a regional basis. In this respect, the guest expressed Hungary's support for the GDR's foreign policy initiatives. Erich Honecker described the joint initiative of the MSZMP, the Socialist Party of Finland, and the Italian Socialist Party for active cooperation between nonnuclear states as a service to the cause of peace and disarmament.

Erich Honecker and Karoly Grosz stressed their countries' interest in the continuation and deepening of the CSCE process in all its components. In their view, the conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting with the adoption of a substantial final document would be significant for security and cooperation throughout Europe.

The talks were attended on the GDR side by Hermann Axen and Guenter Mittag, members of the Politburo and SED Central Committee secretaries; Wolfgang Rauchfuss, deputy chairmen of the State Council, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of Materials Management; Oskar Fischer, foreign minister; Guenter Sieber, head of the International Relations Department of the SED Central Committee; and Frank-Joachim Hermann, state secretary and head of the office of the State Council chairman.

Those present on the Hungarian side were Miklos Nemeth, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of trade; Geza Kotai, head of the International Relations Department of the MSZMP Central Committee; and Laszlo Major, head of the office of the MSZMP Central Committee [title as received].

Grosz Terms Talks 'Constructive'

LD0809215488 Budapest MTI in English
1518 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, September 8 (MTI)—MTI correspondents report:

On Thursday morning, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP], chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee [CC] of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SUPG], president of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, held talks of limited attendance at SUPG CC Headquarters.

Karoly Grosz termed the two-hour discussion highly constructive and of extremely good atmosphere.

After the meeting, he informed Hungarian journalists that the talks had covered current tasks and and endeavors of the two parties and countries, as well as major international issues.

Karoly Grosz provided information on the national conference of the HSWP and the political changes effected since then, whilst Erich Honecker spoke in detail about questions of economic and social development in the GDR. Karoly Grosz remarked that he was particularly interested in the housing policy report, which was "one of the most topical social-welfare policy tasks in Hungary today".

The parties briefed each other on the planned foreign political moves in the two countries.

In connection with economic themes, Karoly Grosz pointed out that the discussion had centred on restructuring, the marking out of development trends and the creation of links between sciences and the economy, instead of issues of economic management. He said he pinned great hopes on Friday's meeting with company managers.

He said the aim of the two-day visit was to intensify friendship and cooperation and explore the opportunities inherent in cooperation.

Prior to the general secretaries' meeting, Karoly Grosz laid a wreath at the Under Den Linden Memorial to the victims of fascism and militarism.

On Thursday morning, talks were held in SUPG CC Headquarters between Miklos Nemeth and Gunter Mittag, the party secretaries in charge of economic affairs.

Karoly Grosz's Berlin visit continued on Thursday afternon with plenary talks.

MTI Notes Afternoon Talks

LD0809220088 Budapest MTI in English
2104 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, September 8 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz found the Thursday afternoon Hungarian-GDR negotiations 'interesting and useful'. At the meeting, besides the two party leaders, members of the delegations also participated. On the Hungarian side, the following people were

present: Miklos Nemeth, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, Jozsef Marjai, deputy premier and minister of trade, Geza Kotai, head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP CC, Laszlo Major, head of the CC Bureau, and Istvan Roska, Hungarian ambassador to Berlin.

On the GDR side present were: the two secretaries of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Hermann Axen and Gunter Mittag, Wolfgang Rauchfuss, deputy premier and chairman of the GDR section of the Hungarian-GDR economic joint commission, Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs, Gunter Sieber, head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the SUPG CC, Frank-Joachim Herrmann, state secretary and head of the Presidential Bureau of the State Council and Gerd Vehres, ambassador of the GDR to Budapest.

The plenary session lasted almost two and a half hours. Karoly Grosz thanked his host, Erich Honecker, for his hospitality in inviting him to Berlin, and reciprocated with an invitation to Hungary.

He expressed his condolences regarding the death of Werner Felfe, member of the Political Committee of the SUPG CC. Werner Felfe died on Wednesday at the age of 60 on the eve of a visit to Hungary.

Karoly Grosz informed his hosts about the internal situation in Hungary, developments since the party conference, the Hungarian economic situation, other problems and the advancement programme.

He went into detail on international issues, especially those peace proposals which could strengthen the emerging favourable tendencies in Europe. He said the HSWP was developing contacts with the international workers' movement and its cooperation with social democratic forces.

Erich Honecker spoke in detail on the GDR's legislation, efforts, economic situation and social policy.

Speaking on foreign policy issues, he emphasized that the GDR fully supported Mikhail Gorbachev's peace efforts. It was strongly believed, he said, that the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty could contribute to the strengthening of peace in Europe and on a wider scale, too. He added that the GDR was also in contact with almost all social democratic parties in the world.

At the plenary session, bilateral tourism was also mentioned. Karoly Grosz emphasized that Hungary placed great importance on the development of bilateral tourism and the preservation of cultural relations.

Grosz, Schabowski Hold Talks

LD0909114988 Budapest MTI in English 0833 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, September 9 (MTI)—On Friday [9 September] morning, Gunter Schabowski, member of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and secretary of the Central Committee, visited Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] at his residence in Niederschunhausen where they held talks for an hour.

Then the Hungarian general secretary met leading representatives from economic life. He held talks with general-directors of combines, foreign trade companies, and travel agencies of the GDR.

Following the talks, Karoly Grosz and his party visited Berlin City Hall and met the lord mayor, Erhard Krack. Then they went on a sightseeing tour of the city and viewed the newly-refurbished Nikolay District.

Today at noon, he is to meet members of the Hungarian colony at the Hungarian Embassy in Berlin, and early in the afternoon, he will continue his official talks at the headquarters of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. To conclude his talks, Karoly Grosz is to meet international journalists and will leave for Budapest early in the evening.

Mittag Meets With Grosz

LD0909130088 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 9 Sep 88

[Text] Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and prime minister of Hungary, and Guenter Mittag, member of the SED Politburo, met today in Berlin with director-generals of GDR combines and foreign trade enterprises. Deepening the close scientific-technical and economic cooperation was at the forefront of their exchange of opinions.

Karoly Grosz first spoke with Guenter Schabowski, first secretary of the Berlin SED district organization. Schabowski provided the guest with, among other things, information on citizens' performance in fashioning the capital into the political, economic, and scientific center of the GDR and a city of peace. Karoly Grosz expressed support for deepening the proven cooperation between Budapest and Berlin at all levels.

Honecker Makes Toast to Grosz

LD0809202888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1822 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin 8 Sep (ADN)—The visit by Karoly Grosz comes at a time when positive tendencies are being consolidated step-by-step in international relations thanks to the socialist countries' efforts, the broad world public opinion, and due to rational and realistically

thinking forces in the West. Erich Honecker underlined this in his toast at the dinner given in honor of his guest. If the intensification of confrontation was previously decisive, much is now beginning to take a turn for the better. This is seen in the growth of contacts and objective dialogue between East and West.

The implementation of the USSR-U.S. treaty on liquidating medium- and shorter-range missiles, with which for the first time a complete category of modern weapons is being dismantled in an unprecedented move, opens up a real opportunity to liberate mankind from the nightmare of a nuclear catastrophe, Honecker said. There must be no letup in this process of real disarmament. For this reason, the Warsaw meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee this July pointed to further steps toward the radical reduction of military potentials. The GDR emphatically supports these initiatives, the speaker stressed.

That entails a 50-percent reduction in USSR and U.S. strategic offensive weapons with strict adherence to the ABM Treaty, the reduction in the number of and finally the halting of nuclear weapons tests, the complete banning and the destruction of chemical weapons, and reductions in armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. We also support the incorporation of tactical nuclear weapons in the disarmament process, Erich Honecker said.

As a state located in the heart of Europen and one positioned on the dividing line between the two most powerful military blocs in the world, the GDR will continue to actively contribute to implementing the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty states for conventional disarmament. The GDR regards this Warsaw Treaty initiative as a constructive step toward the preparation of future negotiations, which are still due to begin in 1988. The GDR expects a positive response from NATO.

According to Erich Honecker, the GDR, with its policy of dialogue and cooperation, will work to improve international relations with the objective of making irreversible these changes for the better. In this regard, he noted the international meeting for nuclear-weapons-free zones this June in Berlin and stressed that the meeting had developed, with the broadest representation, into a comprehensive, equal, and open exchange of views on questions of peace. All other differences are secondary to efforts to constructively solve the most important international political task and to find ways to secure peace and avert a nuclear inferno.

Erich Honecker continued by saying that the success of the Berlin meeting had been valuably served by the presence of the Hungarian delegation. The Hungarian People's Republic has repeatedly declared that it would make its territory available for such a zone. Together with the zones suggested for northern Europe and the Balkans, a connected nuclear-weapons-free zone would in this way arise in Europe in a North-South direction. Its importance to disarmament and to the detente process cannot be underestimated.

To strengthen mutual trust in a joint "European home" and to increase security on the continent, the GDR will continue to persistently pursue the project of a nuclear-weapons-free corridor, a zone free of chemical weapons, and a zone of trust and security in central Europe. On the solid foundation of the final Helsinki Acts, we support mutual understanding and constructive cooperation in the most divergent areas.

The speaker stressed that the GDR's and Hungary's actions in foreign affairs were in fundamental agreement. Both were also united in more effectively fashioning cooperation among fraternal socialist countries in the Warsaw Treaty and CEMA. We are interested in continuing proven forms of political and economic cooperation and, at the same time, searching for new effective paths. In this respect, we assign particular importance to the coordination of the national economic plans for the period 1991 to 1995.

We can say with complete justification that relations between the GDR and Hungary are at a high level, are free of problems, and that they have deepened constantly, Erich Honecker underlined. The treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance is being implemented in all areas. Economic relations have developed continuously. Hungary is one of our most important economic partners. The speaker termed the numerous direct contacts between enterprises and institutions very useful.

Erich Honecker also said that new questions and new problems naturally arise given the extent of our economic cooperation and the increased demands on our national economies. As before, we will find solutions in the spirit of mutual trust and understanding, taking into account the interests of both countries.

The extent of relations in science, education, and culture was also an eloquent expression of the high state of cooperation. Personal contacts between citizens of both states have also increased.

The working people of the GDR, Erich Honecker underlined, followed with great interest the efforts by the fraternal Hungarian people to implement the decisions of the MSZMP national congress and through important social changes to accelerate socialist construction in Hungary, to strengthen the performance of the national economy, and to strengthen socialist democracy. The speaker wished his Hungarian comrades and friends success in this.

As you know, we believe that fashioning the developed socialist society is a process with far-reaching political, economic, social, and spiritual-cultural changes, which includes the creative search for the best ways to solve

new asks and problems, Erich Honecker said. In this regard we are turning the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, the course of economic and social policy, into deeds; and we are developing socialist democracy. In this we will repeatedly have to make such decisions and changes that meet the new requirements.

The purposeful action by the workers, led by the SED and the MSZMP, and the further expansion of cooperation on all sides are of great importance for the future, and for strengthening the position of socialism in the world and making peace more secure. This is necessary and vital for mankind.

Grosz Offers Toast in Return

LD0809204388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1838 GMT 8 Sep 88

["Excerpts From The Toast by Karoly Grosz at the Banquet in Berlin"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 8 Sep (ADN)—The further strengthening of our cooperation is in harmony with our foreign policy goals and our ideas about the future. This was stated by Karoly Grosz on Thursday in his toast at a banquet in Berlin. A determining factor in the relationship between our country and the GDR is the fact that our ideas, main goals, and fundamental interests bind us together. There are of course many different features in the relations between our countries and in their socioeconomic practices. We are convinced that awareness of the multifarious national solutions and the attitude of respect in our relations are also factors strengthening trust and understanding.

Hungary was also honestly interested in the GDR finding modern answers to the challenges of our time in its specific national conditions, proceeding successfuly in developing socialist society. We feel it is important that we make progress in safeguarding our achievements in the fields of specialization and cooperation, and that we expand our cooperation in microelectronics and other sectors vital to the future. We are prepared to promote direct relations between economic units for the manufacture of modern products that can compete on the world market.

The many and varied institutional forms of our relations are suitable for better utilizing the intellectual potential of the two countries in politics, culture, science, and education, Karoly Grosz continued. We are fulfilling a great task if we extend direct meetings between citizens, promote tourism and knowledge of each other's history and present situation, and enrich the cooperation between twinned regions, Karoly Grosz said.

Our peoples are linked by the ethnic Germans living in Hungary. It is our humanist duty to promote the preservation of their national identity and the development of their culture in the spirit of the Leninist policy on nationalities. We are in favor of the Hungarian Germans continuing to find prosperity in their home country. We greatly appreciate the GDR'S understanding, internationalist stand on this issue, which is equally important for European civilization and our peoples. We greatly appreciate the GDR's help on this.

It is well known that in recent years the development of socialism slowed down and that problems increased in Hungary. After a broad-based discussion, our party concluded that for us there is only one acceptable way out of our difficulties: the far-reaching renewal of socialism, the modernization of our thoughts and actions, Grosz noted.

At the same time, we gain renewed strength from the development of democracy, from the development of creative capacities of thinking people and groups, and of those who act responsibly for realistic goals. It is the MSZMP's firm intention to become the party of all the people and to continue consistently along the path of renewing Hungarian society.

The processes taking place in the socialist world have become a factor of international significance. As a result of the new thinking, of the flexible and active initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, international tension has lessened and favorable trends have been strengthened, Karoly Grosz said.

We welcome the restoration of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, the mutual realization that, with an awareness of responsibility for the fate of mankind, nuclear war and armed conflicts must not be allowed to occur. We consider the agreement on removing medium- and shorter-range missiles to be a historic act. We believe that the preservation of the military-strategic balance is a shared concern. Mutual security can, however, also be guaranteed at a considerably lower level of arms.

We support the Soviet Union's proposal for a reduction in conventional arms and forces in Europe and for holding an all-European conference on the topic. Our country is interested in being one of those countries affected by the first reductions, Karoly Grosz stressed.

Hungary attached particular significance to raising to a new level relations with the socialist countries. We also regard CEMA in the long term as an important factor for economic development in the socialist countries. However, we believe that in the urgently needed modernization of cooperation, the situation regarding goods and finance and modern economic methods must be given a decisive role.

Our economic and political interests equally demand that we continuously develop our relations with the developed capitalist industrial countries on the basis of mutual advantage. It is vital for our survival that the world economy develop with us rather than without us. We are striving for regulated relationships with the EEC, and for contractually based cooperation with it. It is a

favorable precondition that relations between CEMA and the EEC have been raised to a new official level with the signing of the joint declaration.

Leaders' Public Appearances 25-31 August

AU0209190588 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 26 August to 1 September reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR State Council, and chairman of the National Defense Council, addressed a meeting with cosmonauts Valeriy Bykovskiy, Sigmund Jaehn, and Eberhard Koellner in the State Council building in Berlin on 26 August, in which Army General Heinz Kessler, Politburo member and minister of national defense, took also part. (27-28 Aug p 1)

Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary; Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member, SED Central Committee secretary, and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk SED leadership; and Harry Tisch, Politburo member and FDGB National Executive Council chairman, attended an anti-imperialist solidarity meeting in Berlin on 26 August. (27-28 Aug p 1)

Erich Honecker received Guyananese Foreign Minister Rashleigh Esmond Jackson for talks in Berlin on 31 August. (1 Sep p 1)

Oskar Fischer, foreign minister and Rashleigh Esmond Jackson, foreign minister of the Cooperative Republic of Guyana, held talks in Berlin on 29 August. (30 Aug p 1)

Oskar Fischer held talks in Berlin on 31 August with Chea Sim, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo. (1 Sep p 2)

Army General Heinz Kessler, Politburo member and minister of national defense, received a delegation of the Syrian Armed Forces led by Division General 'Ali Malhafji, chief of the Syrian Air Force and air defenses, for friendly talks in Berlin on 29 August. (30 Aug p 2)

Horst Sindermann, Politburo member and president of the GDR People's Chamber, congratulated Herbert Fechner, chairman of the Interparliamentary Group of the GDR, on his 75th birthday on 29 August in Berlin. (30 Aug p 2)

Horst Sindermann received Chea Sim, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo, for talks in Berlin on 31 August. (1 Sep p 1)

Willi Stoph, Politburo member and GDR Council of Ministers chairman, received Dr Antonin Kaspar, justice minister of the Czech Socialist Republic, and Dr Milos Barta, deputy justice minister of the Slovak Socialist Republic, for talks in Berlin on 30 August. (31 Aug pp 1-2)

Hermann Axen, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, received a PRC friendship delegation in Berlin on 29 August. (30 Aug p 2)

Werner Felfe, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, received a Soviet delegation headed by Ivan Skiba, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the Agriculture and Food Industry Department of the CPSU Central Committee, for talks in Berlin on 26 August. (27-28 Aug p 6)

Werner Krolikowski, Politburo member and GDR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, attended a reception given by Shikwetepo Haindongo [name as published], head of the SWAPO mission to the GDR, in Berlin on 29 August on the international day of Namibia. (30 Aug p 2)

Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member, SED Central Committee secretary, and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk SED leadership, addressed a meeting of GDR educators in Berlin-Marzahn on 25 August. (26 Aug p 1)

Harry Tisch, Politburo member and FDGB National Executive Council chairman, addressed a meeting of 600 trade unionists at the television electronics enterprise in Berlin-Pankow on 31 August, to mark International Peace Day on 1 September. (1 Sep p 1)

People's Chamber To Commemorate 'Fascist Pogrom'

AU0609114488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Sep 88 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On 8 November 1988, the GDR People's Chamber will meet for a special session in Berlin to commemorate the victims of the night of the fascist pogrom 50 years ago. This was decided by the Presidium of the highest representation of the people in the GDR.

Speeches at this commemorative event will be given by Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council; and by Siegmund Rotstein, president of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR.

PPR 'Instructed' SED on Reforms, Glasnost

AU0209113888 Bonn DIE WELT in German 2 Sep 88 p 8

[H.-R. Karutz report: "Poles Instructed SED Comrades on Reforms and Glasnost"]

[Text] Warsaw has instructed the SED with regard to the question of how favorable an effect domestic reforms and increased stability of the laws have on the climate in

the country. At a scientific meeting which took place in mid-November 1987 in East Berlin but which has only now been reported by GDR media, there were vehement controversies between the GDR hosts and their Polish guests.

In the latest edition of STAAT UND RECHT, which is published by the SED's cadre forge, the Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence, two authors describe the turbulent course of the meeting between the GDR experts and their Polish colleagues. While Prof Wolfgang Weichelt [director of the Theory of State and Law Institute of the GDR Academy of Sciences] simply spoke enthusiastically about the "GDR's tested political system" without any critical approach, the Polish comrades this time turned the table on the German comrades, who normally know everything better: Professor Gulczynski from Warsaw called the prominent SED functionaries' attention to the fact "that it would be wrong to explain all political reform measures in Poland only as an attempt to avert the crisis."

The guest did not spare clear words referring to the GDR, when—as the report in STAAT UND RECHT says—he pointed to the "positive, politically stabilizing" effect of certain steps. Then he cited issues of which reform-hungry GDR citizens can only dream: the "establishment of a constitutional court, a state court [Staatsgerichtshof], and an administrative court" and the establishment of an ombudsman by parliament. East Berlin does not have anything like that.

The report admits that after these statements there has been a "very intensive and partly very controversial discussion." Obviously, even such an explosive topic as the establishment of a real choice in elections—and also for GDR voters—was broached broached during this discussion.

Recently, DER SONNTAG, Saxony's evangelical magazine, highly praised Warsaw's restrained policy of glasnost and its reformist zeal. During an informational trip to Warsaw, GDR church journalists met with government spokesman Jerzy Urban. The magazine commented on this: "Can you imagine that in a country which is headed by a general a minister willingly discusses problems and chances of reform with representatives of the press?"

Yesterday the GDR media again demonstrated what they think about Polish developments: The roundtable talk between the workers' leader, Lech Walesa, and Warsaw's interior minister, General Czeslaw Kiszczak, was overlooked in their coverage.

Honecker, Stoph Greet DPRK on Founding

LD0809221288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin, 8 Sep (ADN)—The GDR has paid tribute to the DPRK's development into a socialist industrial country with a developed agricultural sector. In a message of greetings to mark the DPRK's 40th anniversary on 9 September (1948), Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, stated:

"The DPRK's consistent struggle to preserve international peace and detente and on the Korean peninsula are receiving broad international recognition. The DPRK's constructive proposals, among them the latest proposal for a joint meeting of representatives of the DPRK's Supreme People's Assembly and the ROK's National Assembly, are timely steps in the joint struggle for a peaceful future for mankind."

In conclusion, the letter, which was addressed to Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK [Workers Party of Korea] and DPRK president, and to Yi Kun-mo, chairman of the Council of Ministers, stresses: "We feel genuine satisfaction that the close fraternal alliance between our parties, states, and people is being continuously strengthened and deepened on the secure foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The GDR will continue to work with all its power to strengthen this firm friendship and the development of all-around cooperation between the two states."

Honecker Greets Finnish CP Leader on Election

AU0209111088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Aug 88 p 1

[Date and place of message not given]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The SED Central Committee sent the following congratulatory telegram, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to Jouko Kajanoja, chairman of the Finnish Communist Party - Unity:

Dear Comrade Jouko Kajanoja!

On behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf, I cordially congratulate you on your election as chairman of the Finnish Communist Party - Unity.

For your responsible work, we wish you success, good health, and creativity.

With communist greetings,

[Signed] SED Central Committee

E Honecker, general secretary

Briefs

FDJ Group Visits FRG

At the invitation of the SPD Bundestag group, a delegation of the GDR People's Chamber FDJ group led by FDJ group chairman Hans-Joachim Willerding arrived in Luebeck on 5 September for a several-day visit to the FRG. On behalf of the Schleswig-Holstein Government,

Deputy Minister-President Marianne Tidizk, minister of federal affairs, hosted a reception. During a visit to the Draegerwerk AG, a leading high-technology company in the public health sector, the delegation held an exchange of opinions with the chairman of the board and learned about social problems in the application of key technologies. [Summary] [*AU0709143988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Sep p 5 AU*]

Peace Forum in Magdeburg

Magdeburg (ADN)—The first peace forum involving the twinned cities of Magdeburg and Braunschweig was concluded in Magdeburg on 2 September. The 2-day exchange of opinions by local politicians, representatives of peace initiatives, doctors, teachers, and Christians focused on the contributions of towns and villages to safeguarding peace and to promoting disarmament and detente. [Summary] [*AU0709141788 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Sep 88 p 2 AU*]

Peace Seminar in Plauen

Plauen (ADN)—On 2 September, at the conclusion of their first peace seminar, delegations of citizens from Plauen and Hof (FRG) adopted a joint declaration. This declaration states that the citizens of both towns fully agree with nuclear disarmament, which is practically implemented by eliminating intermediate-range missiles. [Summary] [*AU0709141688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Sep 88 p 2 AU*]

PRC Agronomists Visit

At the invitation of the GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences, a delegation from the PRC Academy of Agricultural Sciences led by its vice president, Prof Liu Jengling, arrived in Berlin on 5 September for a study visit. The visitors intend to learn about managing and planning agricultural research, the shaping of cooperation between science and production, and other projects. During their stay in the GDR, an agreement will be signed on scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries' academies. [Summary] [*AU0709145288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Sep 88 p 2 AU*]

USSR Agronomists Visit

East Berlin (ADN)—On 2 September, at the end of their 1-week stay, Bruno Lietz, minister of agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry, received a delegation of Soviet agricultural scientists in Berlin. The minister stressed the great importance of scientific-technological progress in crop and livestock production. The meeting was attended by Dieter Spaar, president of the GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences, and Helmut Semmelmann, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the Central Committee Agricultural Department. [Summary] [*AU0709141888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Sep 88 p 2 AU*]

Cultural Protocols With USSR

Moscow (ADN)—On 2 September, at the conclusion of the 2-day session of the joint government commission for cultural cooperation between the GDR and the USSR in Moscow, the cultural ministers of the GDR and the USSR, Hans-Joachim Hoffmann and Vasiliy Zakharov, signed the protocol on the second session of the joint government commission and a protocol on preparing for and holding the "Days of GDR Culture in the USSR" from 11 to 27 October 1989 and the "Days of Soviet Culture in the GDR" in 1990. The session's protocol notes the high level of cultural cooperation between the GDR and the USSR and states that this cooperation is varied in nature and is aimed at the mutual enrichment of the intellectual life of the two fraternally linked peoples. During his stay in Moscow, Hans-Joachim Hoffman, GDR culture minister, was also received by Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. [Summary] [*AU0709143588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Sep 88 p 2 AU*]

Grosz Addresses Opening of Political College

LD0509111788 Budapest MTI in English 1007 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 5 (MTI)—Monday saw the opening of the new school year at the political college of the HSWP.

At the opening ceremony, held at the cultural centre of the Hungarian People's Army, college rector, Pal Romany, welcomed the gathering, which included Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and prime minister, and Janos Berecz, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the HSWP CC [Central Committee]. Pal Romany said that almost 1,000 students will attend courses during the new school year opened in the spirit of reform. These include 55 full-time students and 231 on correspondence courses. For the first time in the history of the college, students who begin their studies this year will graduate as politologists.

Then Karoly Grosz addressed the gathering.

Comparison of MAGYAR HIRLAP on SCINTEIA

Paragraph one, sentence one through paragraph three, sentence one reads in MAGYAR HIRLAP: ...[Text] A long time has passed since a foreign press article has simultaneously caused our editorial staff such happiness and sorrow as the SCINTEIA editorial of 4 September. Happiness and sorrow at the same time? Yes, this is indeed a dilemma. [new paragraph]

Where does the pleasure lie in the tough criticism of the Hungarian press coming from the leading daily of a neighboring country, a daily that calls the Hungarian economic reform and Hungary's economic and social situation everything under the sun? In our view, the pleasure, as we already wrote on the occasion of the summit in Arad, is that the unity of words and deeds in this part of Europe —that is, sincerity—is an indispensable condition for building good-neighborly relations. By sincerity we mean not only the observance of signed agreements, but also open dialogue, creative debates, and genuine information. [new paragraph]

The central daily... (omitting introductory passage and supplying additional passages)

World Press Reaction to Romania Plans Viewed

AU0809125188 [Editorial Report] Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 35 on 26 August on page 4 carries a 1,600-word report by Sandor Arvay entitled "Reactions—Deep Ploughing With Bulldozers." The article summarizes the international press reaction to the Romanian village resettlement plans and begins by quoting the Swiss NEUE ZURCHER ZEITUNG which gives well-documented statistics on urbanization in Romania, saying that "the number of towns in Romania has increased from 183 to 237 since 1965, with 51.5 percent of the population now living in towns." Arvay deplores the fact that, although the Swiss publication provides an objective report on the plans, Romanian dailies have made no mention of the article, but instead quote articles of praise from CSSR and Morrocan dailies. The Bucharest Hungarian-language daily "ELORE" is also quoted as defending the plans.

The author goes on to describe the "extremely incomplete" picture of Hungarian-Romanian relations given by the socialist countries' press, citing as an example the extensive article published in Moscow PRAVDA on 14 August which mentions "neither the village resettlement program, nor Hungarian-Romanian differences." In Sandor Arvay's opinion, the socialist press "generally presents the two sides' positions and the facts without any comment," with the exception of the Polish weekly PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY, which, he says, reports in detail on the "deep bitterness and desperation of Hungarian minorities in Transylvania."

The author then contrasts all this with the considerable coverage of this topic in the Western press, and gives examples of relevant articles in EL PAIS, LE MONDE, and the NEW STATESMAN that criticize the Romanian plan.

In conclusion, the author deals with the official political positions taken by various Western countries and describes the various proposals for economic and political sanctions and boycotts against Romania, as well as proposals made by various FRG Bundestag factions, Austrian politicians, and the U.S. Senate.

Politburo's Pozsgay on Domestic Associations

LD0209235388 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Imre Pozsgay has stated that policy must demonstrate tolerance in judging domestic associations and that the councils must rid themselves of the bureaucratism manifest in the treatment of such cases. The Politburo member and minister of state was speaking at the meeting of new towns in Puespoekladany. He said that in judging associations, the only principle that can be asserted is the one which says that everything is permitted which is not forbidden by the law. We must also become accustomed to the existence of organizations which do not have a single idea with which we can agree. The reverse of this, however, is also true: Just because the law recognizes a compact [szerzoedes] does not mean that we have to identify with it, stressed Imre Pozsgay.

Istvan Hadju Named New State Radio Chief

LD0209055788 Budapest MTI in English 1146 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 1 (MTI)—The Council of Ministers relieved Istvan Hars of his duties as head of Hungarian radio as of August 31. In his place, Istvan Hajdu, foreign secretary of the HSWP Budapest party committee, was appointed as head of Hungarian radio from September 1.

In recognition of his outstanding leadership, extending over several decades, his committed work in political and public life and exemplary life achievement, the Presidential Council honoured Istvan Hars on the occasion of his retirement with the Order of the Banner of the Hungarian People's Republic. The decoration was presented by Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council. Present at the event were Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Imre Pozsgay, member of the Political Committee of the HSWP and minister of state.

On Thursday Istvan Hajdu took the oath of office in front of Prime Minister Karoly Grosz.

The radio board convened on Tuesday to bid farewell to the outgoing Istvan Hars and install Istvan Hajdu. The session was attended by Janos Berecz, member of the Political Committee of the HSWP and secretary of the Central Committee, and Imre Pozsgay.

Leaders Greet Libyan Leaders on National Day

AU0209121288 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Sep 88 p 8

[Text] Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, sent a telegram to Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, greeting him on the occasion of the national day of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi sent a telegram of congratulations to Zaydallah 'Aziz al-Salihi, secretary of the People's Committee for Foreign Relations, on the occasion of Libya's national day.

Grosz Receives New GDR Ambassador

LD0509210888 Budapest MTI in English 1818 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 5 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and president of the Presidential Council and Istvan Stadinger, the chairman of the parliament have seen, at a visit of introduction, Gerd Vehres, the ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to Budapest.

Grosz Meets New Envoy to Afghanistan

LD0209224088 Budapest MTI in English 1430 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 1 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Istvan Sarlos, deputy president of the Presidential Council, and Istvan Stadinger, speaker of parliament, met Mihaly Golub, Hungary's new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Afghanistan, who is soon to leave for his post.

Grosz, Straub Receive New Envoy to Japan

LD0309012388 Budapest MTI in English 1658 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Budapest, September 2 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, and Istvan Stadinger, president of the National Assembly, received Andras Forgacs, new Hungarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary accredited to Japan, who will shortly leave for his post.

Briefs

Polish Party Delegation

Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP], a Polish United Workers' Party delegation headed by Andrezj Czyz, head of the Ideological Department of the CC [Central Committee], visited Budapest from September 5-7. The guests were met by Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee. Jeno Andics, head of the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the CC, had talks with Andrezj Czyz, and they briefed each other about the tasks currently facing the two parties. The delegation of the Polish United Workers's Party is to particpate in the bilateral roundtable conference at the Political College of the HSWP from September 7-8. [Text] [*LD0809025188 Budapest MTI in English 1613 GMT 7 Sep 88 LD*]

Delegation to Pyongyang

Budapest, September 6 (MTI)—A Hungarian party and state delegation, headed by Umre Katona, member of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] CC [Central Committee] and secretary of the Presidential Council, left for Pyongyang to participate in a series of celebrations to mark the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the Democratic People's Republic [PDR] of Korea. The delegation was seen off from Ferihegy airport by Kim Pyong-il, ambassador of the PDR of Korea to Budapest. [Text] [*LD0809030388 Budapest MTI in English 1956 GMT 6 Sep 88 LD*]

Visit of General Edward Rowny Detailled

Interviewed on Visit

LD0509201288 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] On the last day of his visit to Poland, Ambassador Edward Rowny, special representative on arms control matters to President Reagan and Secretary of State Schultz, visited the Jagiellonian University. He was a student of this educational establishment in 1938, as a scholarship student of the Kosciuszko Foundation.

[Unidentified Interviewer in English, fading into superimposed Polish translation] What are the results of your visit to Poland?

[Rowny in English, fading into Polish translation] This is a very interesting visit for me. I came here on an invitation from the Polish Government, in order to talk to members of the government and to representatives of the Sejm about our role in arms control, but not only about arms control. We also talked about the general situation in the world, and about the admiration and sympathy that the American people have for the Polish people.

[Interviewer] How do you find Krakow and Poland after so many years?

[Rowny] I think that it has changed. It is wonderful, and I remember it well. As a student, I did not have the opportunity of entering here, the Kolegium Maius. Today, we are celebrating a special day, Labor Day, a work-free day in the U.S. I think that this has geat significance—that precisely on this day, I am in Krakow. We deeply believe in freedom of work, not only at home in the U.S. but throughout the whole world. I had the opportunity today to speak to Cardinal Macharski and important Krakow personalities. I also conducted talks yesterday, and I think that I will be continuing them up until my departure. The visit to Poland was very interesting and fruitful.

General Rowny Ends Visit

LD0509035888 Warsaw PAP in English 1833 GMT 4 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 4—General Edward L. Rowny, President Ronald Reagan's and Secretary of State George Bush's [name and title as received] special arms control advisor, ended his visit to Poland, together with the experts from the U.S. State Department accompanying him, here today.

General Rowny was received by deputy foreign affairs minister, Jan Majewski, and the director of studies at the President of the Council of State, chairman of the National Defence Committee, Lieutenant Colonel Wieslaw Gornicki. General Rowny also held talks with experts from the Polish Foreign Affairs Ministry and the Polish Army's General Staff.

The talks concentrated on arms control and disarmament problems, including the Jaruzelski Plan.

General Rowny visited the village of Nagoszewo in the Ostroleka Voivodship, north-eastern Poland, his father's birthplace. On Sunday he visited Krakow and Oswiecim.

The American guest toured the grounds of the former Nazi concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau in Oswiecim-Brzezinka. General Rowny saw a documentary film made by a Soviet film crew on the day of the liberation of Auschwitz.

In tribute to the victims of Auschwitz, Rowny laid flowers at the camp's death wall and at the International Monument to Victims of Fascism in Brzezinka. In the visitors' book of the Oswiecim Museum the general wrote: It is horrible to see it, but one must see and remember in order that it can never happen again.

Pollster: 38

Oppose 'Opposition Activities'

LD0809220488 Warsaw PAP in English 2136 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sep. 8—At the present moment 38 per cent of Polish society do not support opposition activities, chief of the public opinion polling centre Stanislaw Kwiatkowski told "Panorama Dnia" popular TV news programme today when asked about the size of public support for "Solidarnosc".

He added that more than half of the population are not interested in political intricacies. They do not care who is in power as long as it is done in a sensible and economical way, while they judge politicians by what they can see at work, on the market, and in the state as a whole.

Urban Defends Support for Roundtable Meeting

LD0809203788 Warsaw PAP in English 1914 GMT 8 Sep 88

["Urban's Answer to Stelmachowski"—PAP headline]

[Text] WArsaw, Sept. 8—The Polish press agency PAP received Jerzy Urban's answer which reads in part: I would like to inform you that on Sept. 8 in a conversation with a representative of the Paris-based daily "LIBERATION" I referred to certain statements included in an interview granted by Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski to Radio Free Europe on Sept. 7.

It is necessary to explain that Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski, who is the president of the Warsaw Club of Catholic Intelligentsia performs goodwill services while mediating at the organization of the round table meeting. I deem it purposeful to announce what I have said to the French journalist:

In his interview for Radio Free Europe, Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski expressed an opinion that Urban while making statements at a press conference on Sept. 6 about the round table meeting and related issues "might have been an exponent of certain forces, otherwise, very influential ones which want to torpedo the whole affair."

Answering this supposition made by the professor, I want to explain that I am not an exponent of any anonymous forces, but of the stance of the authorities. If only in any important case the opinion expressed publicly by the spokesman departed from the stance of the authorities, it would be immediately publicly corrected. I strongly renounce suggestions that I am personally an opponent of the agreement and that I work for the failure of the round table. It is quite the opposite. The authorities seek agreement and desire the success of the round table, which they themselves have initiated, and I support these intentions and actions with my work.

In the course of preparations for the round table, future participants exactly define their views and initial postulates. Lech Walesa for instance announced that he would strive to reactive "Solidarnosc" in this or that form. Views of the authorities on trade union issues were most fully expressed by the 8th Plenum of the PUWP CC. They were also specified by the OPZZ (All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions) Council in its resolution. The precise presentation of views which are different is not the torpedoing of the round table which is aimed to associate forces of versatile opinions to seek compromise.

It is a natural thing that various factors which are to sit at the round table together announce their initial views. It is important that they respect accepted assumptions which form the foundation for the organization of the round table: We sit down for the talks without pre-conditions. Some public statements like that that first it is necessary to come to terms as concerns the trade unions' structures and only later talk about other things, or outright threatening with strikes—are not in line with this accepted assumption of talks without pre-conditions.

Miodowicz on OPZZ Stance, Roundtable Meeting

LD0809140688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1950 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Excerpts] As announced, we now have for you excerpts from the OPZZ leadership's press conference for domestic and foreign journalists.

The conference was opened by Franciszek Ciemny, the OPZZ press spokesman. He recalled the content of yesterday's resolutions on a vote of no confidence in the government and on trade-union pluralism. In presenting the grounds for the OPZZ Council's resolution, Waclaw Martyniuk recalled the positions and opinions of the trade unions on economic matters since 1985. During this time, he said, the trade union movement was consistently against an economic policy which reduced the reform to a race between prices and incomes. The trade union movement warned many times against the social consequences of such a policy. But the union's opinions were not taken into consideration, but their correctness has been confirmed by events. The trade union movement continues to support the main objectives of the reform, but it disagrees with the present concept for its implementation.

After this statement by Wladyslaw Martyniuk, journalists asked questions. Here are some of them:

The first question was asked by a journalist from Finland. He asked whether the OPZZ deemed it appropriate to accept the registration of a second trade union within enterprises, namely Solidarity.

[Begin recording] [Miodowicz] Of course it is not up to the OPZZ to adopt such decisions, but we hold the view that the trade unions that exist at present—we could describe them as OPZZ unions, as well as non-OPZZ unions, because, let me remind you, more than 4,000 unions are outside our direct influence—have an opportunity to function in accordance with the wishes of their work forces. Therefore everything remains open and anything is possible. On the other hand, we would never wish to cause divisions in the work force. Please note that the unrest, work stoppages, and strikes—I would not like to say lawful or unlawful, but these strikes did occur, they were a fact—have led to deep divisions in the work force. And although they are formally over, the work forces will be divided for many years to come.

[Kucharski] Tadeusz Kucharski, THE TIMES. In your speech yesterday on the television news you demanded that the government resign, speaking as a trade unionist and a deputy. Were you also speaking as a member of the Politburo, and would such position be approved by the Politburo?

[Miodowicz] Of course, I was speaking there as a member of the OPZZ Council and as a deputy. But I can tell you right away that while I am identified with the work and the functioning of the Politburo, it does not mean that we all speak there with one voice or, let's say, blow the same trumpet. My voice was appropriately heard at the opening at the latest, the eighth, plenary session of the party Central Committee. The first secretary said that two Politburo members would take part in the discussion—Miodowicz and Messner—considering the great difference in the appraisal of the situation by the trade unions—to be presented by Miodowicz—and by the government, to be presented by Messner. And that is how this should be interpreted.

[Reporter] What is the state of implementation of resolutions of the trade union congress?

[Miodowicz] It is very bad. I would like to stress one thing: In resolutions of the 10th Party Congress and in our coungress documents there is one subject which we feel should be the main subject to be dealt with, which should be resolved quickly within a few years. This is the resolution of the housing question for young people and for those who are starting families or having families. Unfortunately, both the party and the trade unions have failed here. Even such pressures as the congress of the people without accomodation failed to produce any reaction. It is true that we have now a good program, but its implementation is failing and we are experiencing a serious collapse.

[Reporter] We are on the eve of the roundtable conference. Would it not be sensible if before the conference you could meet Mr Walesa to create a better climate for this roundtable meeting and in general make personal contacts in the current crisis?

[Miodowicz] Colleague Lech Walesa used to be my boss at one time, when I used to be a modest member of Solidarity in the Nowa Huta steelworks. Today the situation is not reversed because, unfortunately, I must say that I am not Mr Walesa's boss. In connection with this, the initiative can come from either side. We are open to it.

[Reporter] The resolution states that only trade unions can decide their own fate. Does this mean that the issue of trade union pluralism is not to be discussed at the roundtable? Can it be discussed with everyone or is it to be just between the unions?

[Miodowicz] If the roundtable is to be reduced to a debate on trade union pluralism, then I think we will misunderstand the intentions expressed on this issue by the first secretary, Wojciech Jaruzelski. This is to be a debate of devoted people, of important people, who represent different views and have different backgrounds and aspirations for Poland, the state of the country, and the moral and psychological state of our society.

It is to be a debate about making use of the intellect and vital strengths of our people—nearly 40 million of them. And no doubt one of the subjects will be trade union pluralism. We are not going to evade that subject at the roundtable. But the eventual solutions will have to arise from direct contacts and direct talks.

[Reporter] Was the issue of your function in the Politburo raised in yesterday's proceedings, or earlier at work enterprises?

[Miodowicz] The Politburo, under the leadership of General Jaruzelski, functions in an open manner. Everyone has a chance to say his piece. And thanks to that, we speak out loud. And noone can say that the trade unionists said one thing at the Politburo and quite another a couple of days later at a session of their council, committee, or some other representative body.

[Reporter] Mr Miodowicz, could you tell us here today if you are for the legalization of Solidarity?

[Miodowicz] I consider that legalization of Solidarity as a second trade union would be contrary to our concept which says that at every work enterprise a single trade union exists. But there is the issue of a number of single trade unions at work enterprises with different dispositions. [sentence as heard]

[Reporter] How do you reconcile the trade union's statutory duty to defend the interests of the workers—that is, above all their inalienable right to work—with the concept of restructuring our economy? And I have one more question: What do the leaders of the trade union movement understand by the new social contract—after all a very general concept—which among other things was discussed at yesterday's OPZZ Council; and with whom would that contract be concluded?

[Miodowicz] I shall answer the first question. We consider that we have no unemployment and that is a very important thing; it is a great success for the political authorities of this country. On the other hand, we have a very disadvantageous situation and we have to consider whether, from the moral point of view and considering the condition of our economy, the so-called "unemployment in employment" does not represent a greater threat. There are various estimates for this—some say it is 500,000, others say it is 2 million. This issue has to be resolved. When we start resolving it, then we are going to face this problem. Meanwhile, seeing how we are resolving the much simpler issue—that is, the restructuring of our industry—it seems to me that unfortunately this remains a remote issue.

[passage omitted]

[Reporter] One technical question: Let us say the government falls because of the no-confidence vote. Who will put forward the candidate for premier?

[Miodowicz] This question far excedes my capability to answer and my knowledge in general. This would be a special case in the work of our Sejm, and every special case must be resolved in a detailed and principled manner. I think that the lawyers who work for the Sejm and the Sejm deputies who work in the extraordinary commission—provided they agree with such a motion, and I do not know if this is going to happen—if they agree, then they will have to think about it. If they ask me, as a deputy, to join in such a debate, then I shall know more about it. [end recording]

RUDE PRAVO Interviews OPZZ's Miodowicz

LD0809190788 Warsaw PAP in English
1819 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Prague, Sept. 8—PUWP CC Political Bureau member and chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ, Alfred Miodowicz, has granted an interview to the Warsaw correspondent of RUDE PRAVO.

The working man has been somehow lost in the very concept and the way of implementation of the economic reform, Miodowicz told the paper.

The OPZZ chairman questioned the grounds for the concept of trade union pluralism and stated that Poland must see real and not apparent structural changes.

OPZZ does not agree with the opinions that the Polish economy can recover as soon as within two or three years, the process will last much longer, but people must know that they are heading towards a concrete goal, Miodowicz told the paper.

Messner Speaks to Sejm Economic Reform Committee

AU0509172188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
1 Sep 88 pp 1, 4

[Report on speech by Premier Zbigniew Messner at the 31 August meeting of the Sejm Extraordinary Economic Reform Commission in Warsaw]

[Text] We attach great importance to today's meeting. That is why we have decided that the front-rank members of the government take part in it. Every minister, his deputies, and experts are present.

The wave of unrest which we are experiencing in Poland has intensified criticism of the government and state administration. This criticism was also expressed during the eighth plenum. There is a ZSL plenum today, and no doubt criticism will also be expressed there.

One must say that this criticism is not just a feature of the past few days. It has also occurred during Sejm sessions and during meetings of its problem committees. Regardless of the personal opinions of members of the government as to how far the criticism is justified and to what extent it stems from emotions, it must be said that it is a political and social fact and that it cannot be brushed aside. To put it plainly, one cannot bury one's head in the sand.

We receive this criticism with great attention. We are analyzing and drawing conclusions from it to be used in present and future activity—if it is we who are going to implement it. Criticism is closely followed by responsibility for the realization of the policy being carried out. However, criticism and accusations must always be documented. Therefore, what is really the government's fault must be separated from what stems from emotions.

The government is being criticized mainly for its economic policy. We are very often accused of not being radical enough and of sloppy action. On the other hand, in almost every case there are attempts to counteract our planned radicalism in pursuing economic policy. In a certain sense, these two contradictory currents are understandable, for they stem from one's view of problems. There is one type of criticism from a neutral angle, and another type of criticism from the angle of the milieu in which one works or which one represents. Hence the presence of contradictions in the same speech or statement. That is why I wanted to ask everyone to examine the problem from two angles before assessing the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform.

The first of these angles is a formal one, in other words the implementation of the provisions of the reform program that was adopted by the Sejm and made public. I can say that most of the tasks are being performed on a continuous basis. The rare delays are the result of difficulties in preparing what are often pioneer-like solutions. One also has to view the implementation of the second stage of the reform from another angle; one must answer the question whether the activity so far has permitted an elimination of all contradictions and the shaping of a qualitatively new model of national economic relations. As premier, my answer to this question is no.

As part of the economic reform, we have adopted many new forms of organization and introduced many solutions; with the Sejm's great participation, of course. For example, the law on research establishments and translating this law into practical terms is a part of the economic reform. I ask myself whether the existing solutions could have been better and whether they could have been implemented more quickly. Anyone who criticizes his own activity will say that he makes mistakes, regardless of what the reasons for these mistakes are—regardless of how many subjective and objective reasons there are. In the case of the government's activities, the truth is that it is impossible to implement everything in a way everyone would like.

Which of the undertakings do government members consider to be the greatest failures? There is no doubt that the prices-incomes operation this year is in the forefront. The facts are known, and will no doubt be discussed today. The fact is that we did not notice certain weaknesses in the proposed solutions, and that is why the adopted concept was doomed to fail the moment it began. Neither did we notice weaknesses in the mechanisms that control prices and incomes. The deteriorating market situation added to the problem. Because of this, many social groups are worse off today.

Fascination with systemic solutions cannot and does not overshadow the day-to-day, painful problems of everyday life. We have also not found mechanisms which determine the functioning of the administration to the advantage of citizens. Although we tried to do so—for example last October the Sejm did adopt an amendment

to the administration's code of conduct—there was lack of consistency in observing the new rules both in the center and in the field. To give an example, there is the well-known case of affidavits. We wanted declarations by citizens when visiting offices to be enough. But it later turned out that these declarations had to be supported by affidavits sworn before a notary public, which destroyed our idea. It is the government's fault that we were unable to implement this idea with the help of our field administration. But it would be wrong for the center to resolve various local irregularities every day. Although these local irregularities do contribute to the general criticism of the center, the government cannot intervene in the work of every state body.

In my introduction, I could not describe every single negative feature. I consider the main cause of the present social mood to be that society's view of the economic situation diverges from the official statistics on the state of the economy. We understand these feelings and are drawing conclusions from them. However, one should realize that the government is first and foremost responsible for the implementation of strategic goals which determine the future of the country. The Politburo report, which sharply criticized the results of economic policy, asked the following completely valid questions: Is the new economic policy contained in the government economic consolidation program meant to be a continuation? Or is it a radical attempt to break with the past and start from scratch? An example of such a break with the past is the demand to abolish the existing legal system at one go and replace it with new legislative acts.

It is my profound conviction, said Premier Messner, that economic policy must combine within it these opposing trends. After all, the program of the second stage of the economic reform remains valid, both in its goals and provisions. They are based on an increase in social activity and initiatives, an adjustment of economic parameters, and a deep restructuring. They must be continued because there are no other ways of rationalizing the functioning of the economy. The program undoubtedly calls for an analysis and acceleration of some undertakings. One should also draw conclusions from the prices-incomes operation, which will have an impact on other adopted solutions.

But we feel that the main obstacle to the implementation of reform—apart from the mistakes made by the government—is the resistance matter. This appears every time there are attempts at restructuring, every time it is necessary to give preference to the development of some areas at the expense of others, or every time the government tries to introduce rules of hard finance. This launches criticism from various circles, who accuse us of being incompetent, and even stupid and arrogant.

Recently we have started several activities aimed at radicalizing the adopted solutions, Messner continued. In enterprises, we are conducting polls in order to discover the legal, economic, and organizational barriers in them. Many directors complain that the rules that have been in force for years, including the law of "duplication," hinder their work and make it impossible to implement the principle of independence. We are carrying out an inspection of the reformed administration, wishing to find answers to the questions: whether this reform has gone in the right direction, whether bureaucracy has not made a comeback, and whether development at intermediate levels of economic management is not being impeded. In accordance with the special powers granted by the Sejm, we are making decisions aimed at eliminating inefficient enterprises. The decisions we have already made are already being sharply criticized not only by those directly involved, but also in other circles, for example the press. For example, people try to prove the need for intermediaries and to illustrate their effectiveness. Nevertheless effectiveness is not enough. Whether the economy needs these intermediaries or not is the basic criterion. We are also preparing several other decisions aimed at radicalizing the reform, such as holding directors constantly to account for the violation of basic economic relations, or the abolition of monopolies in the procurement sector. In addition, we are preparing changes to the Council of Ministers legislative powers.

At the same time, we are continuing with systemic solutions. A new tax system is being prepared, and we are working on a new system of economic jurisdiction. We are counting on the Sejm to pass several bills soon, for example the bill on economic activity. We will prepare the program of consolidating the economy in the period 1989-1990 in line with the decisions of the 8th plenum.

The premier expressed hope that the commission's assessment would be objective and would take into account all the conditions that have accompanied the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform.

Sejm Reform Monitoring Committee To Meet 9 Sep

LD0809163788 Warsaw PAP in English
1527 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 8—The Sejm Extraordinary Committee for monitoring the implementation of the economic reform will meet on Friday, September 9.

The meeting will be a continuation of the August 31-September 1 session which was assessing the implementation of tasks of the 2nd stage of the reform between October 1987-June 1988, and the use by the government of its special powers in the first three months of their operation.

The previous debate of the committee ended in a decision to resume work by deputies teams operating within the body. They were to analyse the reports submitted by the government and experts and those being at the disposal of the Sejm Public Complaints and Suggestions Committee. Deputies were to take into account the

resolutions adopted by the PUWP CC and UPP CC plenary sessions and the course of discussion held at the meeting of the OPZZ Council.

At the plenary session the deputies are expected to hear opinions by the team of the socio-economic council and suggestions of Sejm advisers and experts. It will be however too early for the committee to formulate an opinion. In the wake of the Friday meeting, sub-committees will continue work. The committee is likely to meet next week to adopt an opinion.

PAP Reports on 6 Sep Politburo Meeting

LD0809001988 Warsaw PAP in English 2355 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 7—The PUWP CC Political Bureau assessed the sociopolitical and economic situation of the country on Sept. 6. It discussed the ways of the full and punctual realizing of the 8th CC plenary session's resolution and of exercising responsibility for implementing its decisions.

Now it is imperative to accelerate and intensify activities of authorities at all levels to normalize the situation in the country, achieve progress in national agreement and increase pace in reforming the economy.

Many issues of major importance for the national economy require prompt settlement.

The Political Bureau recalled the CC stand, taken at the 8th plenum, on the government. The stance assumes that the degree of the effectiveness of activities undertaken by the government recently will be a component of the Sejm evaluation of the government.

It is indispensable to simplify or to eliminate organizational structures, and especially intermediate links, in all domains of the economy.

The fast implementation of decisions of the 8th plenum on working out an economy consolidation plan requires the Sejm's approval of the abandonment of the binding procedure of consultations.

The Political Bureau voiced support for proposals of the reborn trade unions to examine and realize those initiatives which enrich the model of unionist movement in Poland and at the same time do not lead to division and to revival of political struggle in enterprises. It came out for strengthening of the role of trade unions.

The Political Bureau pointed to considerable social and economic losses caused by strikes.

The hitherto methods of party work require a deeper and faster revaluation. The implementation of the concept of the turn in restructuring the economic and sociopolitical system needs commitment of the entire party, its allies and proreform oriented social and employee groups.

Poland today is a different country than it was 7 years ago. There is no field without noticeable changes. They were achieved in great effort, at the cost of selfdenial, tough work of millions of citizens who are humiliated and insulted by questioning of this effort, especially when this is done by people blamed for giving support to economic restrictions targeted against the living standards of the people. They still happen to encourage the West to obstructing trade and financial relations with Poland.

The party, it was stressed, cannot even for a moment weaken the rhythm of work, the offensive character of the dialogue with society, efforts for the cause of agreement, the drive for what is a great chance of our nation.

The Political Bureau acquainted itself with the results of talks by Czeslaw Kiszczak and Stanislaw Ciosek which lead to the round table. The end of the strikes has provided conditions of peace necessary for holding the meeting behind round table of a possibly broad representation of social forces standing on the ground of constitutional order and heading for improvement of relations in Poland.

A round table meeting should discuss the plane and procedure of its work and start dispute over the most significant problems of this country: Especially the political and economic reform, better material conditions of life. Trade unions may take part in discussion on the development and enrichment of the Polish model of union movement.

The Political Bureau expressed the willingness of a bold intensification of these major changes allowing for the principles of socialist pluralism in line with contemporary trends of our systemic formation. They stressed the strategic character of national agreement, a full desire of its materialization.

The bureau evaluated the preparations for the 1988-89 school year in universities and voiced its conviction that the decisions of the 8th plenary meeting and activities it has suggested to campuses will become a plane for cooperation of all the constructive political forces in the process of university selfgovernment consolidation, increasing the possibilities for development of independent scientific and social activity of the students, particularly the broadening of possibilities to form associations.

Ministers Council 29 Aug Resolution Described

AU0409072188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Aug 88 pp 1, 2

[Text] PAP—On 29 August, the Council of Ministers, under the chairmanship of Premier Zbigniew Messner, considered the conclusions for government activity contained in the Politburo report to the Eighth Central Committee Plenum, the plenary debates, and the final speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman. The

Council made a painstaking analysis of current economic policy, especially in light of the latest criticism on the subject of ineffectiveness in halting inflation and restoring market equilibrium, and in view of the continuing existence of an excessive number of petty regulations and bureaucratic excesses.

1. The Plan To Consolidate the National Economy.

The Council of Ministers decided to prepare by 15 November 1988 the plan to consolidate the national economy that was announced in the seventh plenum resolution. In its preparation, all the experience gained so far will be used, as well as the opinions of economic circles, enterprise managements, workers' self-management bodies, and socioprofessional organizations. The following documents will also be used: the 1989 Central Annual Plan, a draft of the 1990 Central Annual Plan plus draft changes to the 1986-90 National Socioeconomic Plan, the draft state budget for 1989, and a draft plan of structural changes to industry and the national economy until the year 2000. Deputy Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski, chairman of the Government Planning Commission and of the Government Economic Reform Commission, has been entrusted with coordinating the preparations for the plan to consolidate the national economy.

2. An Improvement in the Functioning of the Market.

The Council of Ministers decided to intensify various activities aimed at increasing supplies of commodities and guaranteeing the availability of basic general goods, especially by assuring adequate supplies for the needs of the manufacturing industries. Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda was entrusted with the coordination of this.

3. Financial-Credits Policy

In order to ensure the smooth processing of accounts between enterprises and to eliminate the bottlenecks therein, the premier asked Zdzislaw Pakula, chairman of the Council of Banks and president of the Polish National Bank, to urgently take the appropriate steps. At the same time, Finance Minister Bazyli Samojlik was obliged to improve discipline in the way in which enterprises settle their accounts with each other. Inefficient enterprises must not receive greater subsidies or concessions. Economic units that are incapable of improving their economic situations should not count on any support from the banks or the state budget, whereas sharper sanctions will be imposed on those enterprises where correct economic ratios are violated.

4. The Elimination of Bureaucratic Barriers

Because of the many complaints about organizational, legal, and economic obstacles that make rational and effective activity under to the economic reform impossible, the premier placed ministers under an obligation to carry out direct investigations in enterprises by 10 September and to establish the nature of the obstacles, after which activity will be undertaken in order to remove them.

5. Increasing Prices and Wages Discipline

In order to restore control over the prices of final goods and services, especially wholesale prices, and in order to bring wages closer in line with work input, Bazyli Samojlik, minister of finance; and Ireneusz Sekula, minister of labor, wages, and social policy; were placed under an obligation to step up, in concert with the Government Planning Commission, action to assure prices and wages discipline.

6. The Functioning of the Central Administration

In order to ensure conformity between the work of the central administration and the principles of the reformed economy, and on account of the criticism about the work of the central administration, there will be another examination of the internal structure of ministries and offices. This task has been entrusted to General of Division Michal Janiszewski, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

7. The Work of Local Government Bodies

Executive decisions stemming from the eighth plenum will be conveyed to voivodas this week.

Apart from these, the Council of Ministers also adopted a series of other undertakings aimed at mobilizing, in accordance with the eighth plenum resolution, all forces and resources in order to improve market supplies, to halt the growth in prices, to reduce the dangers to the standard of living of working people, and to effectively implement the economic reform program.

The Council of Ministers adopted a group of rules governing the implementation of the law on land utilization and appropriation of property, and of the law on urban planning.

These rules control the location and size of investments; establish the maximum size of plots of land allocated for single-family homes; and lay down the rules governing the use of common land, sale of state land, and fines for using land not in accordance with its purpose. The Council of Ministers also adopted rules which govern the administration of communal property; establish fees for the use of communal, energy, and gas installations; and determine what ought to be considered land that is essential for state defense and security purposes.

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution concerning an alteration to subsidies for regional budgets this year, and heard a report about the future development of transit traffic in Poland.

Miodowicz Address to Eighth Plenum Published

AU3108154088 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Aug 88 p 9

[Speech by PZPR Politburo member and OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 27 August]

[Text] Comrade first secretary. Comrades! Perhaps it is a coincidence that this is the third time that the party has convened an eighth plenum in a difficult situation. Once again, statements that this is the last time and that we will never again commit errors and departures that lead to distortions and deviations have been to no avail.

Unfortunately, today we must once again repeat the workers' slogan of socialism, yes; distortions, no. And for the first time in the history of People's Poland, there has been a chance to avoid explaining oneself to the workers' class for the nonimplementation of adopted programs. The trade unions issued warnings and made suggestions. Unfortunately, they were not heard until the very end. In our 20 August statement, we said loudly and publicly that the trade unions should clearly articulate what the majority feels. We cannot interpret this trade unionist voice in any other way than as an expression of no confidence in the government.

We declare that the source of the present wave of conflicts lies in a failure to react to workers postulates previously presented by the trade unions, self-management bodies, and workers' councils. This is shown by the fact that the strikers are repeating them. There is no excuse for the fact that since 1980, despite the August guarantees, the housing problem has deteriorated, not improved. The issue of working hours in mining has not been resolved since 1981. Price policy continues to be incomprehensible to everyone. Wages are less and less dependent on work. The administration has expanded beyond all measure. Striking and non-striking miners are saying so.

Other professional groups are raising similar problems—the metalworkers and dockers. But warnings are also being conveyed to us by communal employees, transport workers, health employees, and textile workers. One can list other occupations. The conflict is threatening everything, because working people in the socialized economy have lost their feeling of social security.

The OPZZ Executive Committee has said that a continuation of the current state of affairs is out of the question and has asked the Sejm marshal to convene an extraordinary Sejm session. The government itself admits that it has failed in a lot of things. Who is concerned about whether people admit to mistakes, when those who committed them do not have to pay? It is the working world that is paying, including 7 million trade unionists who, by means of their daily work, are keeping the country afloat, despite everything. People are demanding personal responsibility. This should come as no surprise to anyone!

The congress of the reborn Polish trade union movement said that economic policy fails to meet social needs halfway. We said that it contains no program of rapid structural changes in the economy, no program to increase supplies and reduce inflation. It is even worse in practice. Society's feeling that the standard of living is constantly falling must be particularly disturbing to trade unions and the working world. Let us finally find out who is right about this. From our analyses, it emerges that real wages in the socialized economy have fallen, pensions have fallen, and the taxation structure has deteriorated drastically. More and more money is being allocated to food.

Statistics confirm that the prices policy that was rejected in the referendum is going to be fulfilled to excess. However, the effect of this is opposite to the one declared—subsidies have increased, and the structure of wages and taxation has deteriorated. That is the reason for the drama in our Polish situation. I am not creating a tragedy. In the economy, every step backwards is a drama for our country, whoever provides the explanation for it and whatever his excuses may be. No one expected an economic miracle. We expected at least a stop to bad trends. But instead of that, people are once again manning the gates!

Did we ever try to answer the question of how the attitude of non-strikers toward strikers changed in April, and how it has changed today? Comrade Rakowski did discuss this yesterday, but I would like to reiterate that in April there were doubts and disapproval, whereas today the strikers are enjoying much more support. For the second time, the gates are manned by young people. That is no coincidence. They are guided by an unusual desire to cause a stir. After all, what have they got to lose?

Let us be frank and say that, unless we solve several basic problems involving young people, we will not have their support. Housing, a start for young families, professional advancement, kindergartens, nurseries, access to technology—this is the road that leads to the young generation. In addition, we do not have many young people in the trade unions, because they can see that, although we talked long and loud about their problems, the result is negligible. The situation of a 25-35-year-old with a family, without an apartment, and working in a state factory is usually the worst of all. Such a person sinks deeper and deeper. As a result, he becomes frustrated, feels he has no chances, and rejects the system. He becomes less and less interested in the reform, and criticizes the authorities more and more. The opposition takes advantage of this. The expertly conveyed "Solidarity" myth does its work. Perhaps this is our chance, young people think.

All the voices calling for trade union pluralism add to the trouble. But is trade union pluralism all they have in mind? Is trade union pluralism not a convenient screen for the final contest for political pluralism and the assumption of power? The class trade unions have a clear stance on the subject of pluralism—one trade union in one factory. However, programs, forms of action, and the composition of self-management bodies are matters that are up to the workers in each factory themselves. A trade union's status cannot be decreed from above. Only independent, self-managing, and legal trade unions are in a position to decide on their shape and status in an enterprise. There is nothing against the majority of workers in a given factory determining the character of their trade union. Perhaps that is why those who belong to the other trade union do not want to be leaders of the legal factory unions.

By means of a legal decision, it is always possible to hold new elections to a legal trade union and elect those leaders whom the work force wants. Only the most hostile people can fail to notice the democracy and freedom of speech that our trade unions enjoy. I repeat, a work force always has the possibility of shaping a trade union in its own image. It can always make changes. One issue has to be supreme—the welfare of the work force and the interests of the plant. For if the plant goes bankrupt, the trade union will go with it.

The reborn Polish trade unions are a force that is constructive and careful in action. Too careful, people sometimes say. We have always expressed our attachment to socialism and social justice. We are also an early-warning system, as Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski often says. I believe we are performing this function well, though we do realize that nobody likes being warned and no one enjoys criticism. Conflicts along the trade unions versus authorities line are inevitable. Cosmetic accord without support by the masses leads nowhere.

Nevertheless, we frequently encounter a feeling of disgust toward us, as if we were the ones who had brought about the present situation. We also notice attempts to direct the trade unions into a bureaucratic quagmire, into neutral gear. Let me recall the frequent disputes with the central administration about collective labor agreements. The fact that a collective labor agreement was finally concluded is due solely to the efforts of the trade union of printers. Why? Because we had to discuss the implementation of this agreement with four different ministers. And today I hear that the ministry will no longer be responsible, but some board of directors instead. Why did we discuss and reject this topic 3 years ago, if it is making a comeback on our agenda today? This really is an example of a bureaucratic quagmire and an absence of responsibility on the part of comrades who report these things to us without having said a word to the trade unions beforehand. This is irresponsible. Let me recall the idea of revising the labor code, which was dreamed up from behind a desk, and all the commissions, conferences, and empty discussions that went into this project, which only unnecessarily aggravated social moods. It was a lot of unnecessary work and a waste of time, which we will never regain.

Trade union aktivs accuse us of excessive caution. But what legal methods of implementing justified matters do we have? The experience of the past few weeks tells us that there is an urgent need to reinforce the position of the trade unions. However, our authority and status among working people depends on the state of the economy, on the fulfillment of workers' postulates, on the safeguarding of their vital interests. A real, realistic attitude toward the trade unions on the part of every level of the administration cannot be a question of good will. This matter ought to be accorded constitutional importance. It is also an important matter for the party, which bears responsibility for the entire shape of the country's social life.

The party, which influences cadre policy, should entrust the running of the state and the economy to people who are socially acceptable and competent, who have gained their qualifications through practical experience. By means of the Sejm and the people's councils, the party assesses its cadres according to the results of their work. The ability to cooperate with the trade unions, and not necessarily without a conflict, should form an important part of these assessments. As I said, there have to be differences in opinion, and sometimes sharp conflicts, too. The point is that the authorities at every level must learn to avail themselves of the trade union stance, for this lies in the interests of the working people, the trade unions, and the party itself.

Now we have an impermissible and abnormal situation. Legal and lawful activity by the trade unions in defense of working people's interests sometimes encounters bureaucratic obstacles and difficulties that cannot be overcome. And yet the demands expressed during the illegal strikes are heard much more quickly, in fact almost immediately. In such a situation, we are losing our credibility in the eyes of working people. Why is this? Because the procedure involved in legal strikes is long and complicated. What work force likes to wait? The procedure needs lengthy legal examination. It is as incomprehensible as the taxation system in enterprises. Therefore, we must have the right and possibility to simplify this road; this is a rapid task for the trade unions and the Sejm. This is what we did in the case of the strike in the Voivodship Transportation Enterprise of Bydgoszcz, which we decided was a legal one, even though not all procedural formalities had been fulfilled. Why did they not have to be fulfilled? Because the federation had exhausted every legal form of action. So why should the trade union in this Voivodship Transportation Enterprise repeat them?

Comrades, do you know the suffering endured by all the trade unions that undertake a collective dispute? Let me give a few examples. The totally unnecessary struggle to

alter the paragraph in the Council of Ministers Resolution 108 on the subject of coal supplies to the population ended almost 1 year later with the government closing the subject the day before the Constitutional Tribunal was due to consider it. Following the urban transportation strike in April, the system of subsidizing wages in enterprises was meant to be abolished. It is still with us. I know that the collective dispute was resumed yesterday. Who needs a 10-percent subsidy on tourist services, imposed against the opinion of the trade unions in as many as 20 voivodships? Who struggled for years to amend the Miners Charter in order to include those miners breaking the coalface into lumps of coal? Who has been struggling for years for a fulfillment of the commitments vis-a-vis building workers? Finally, who will rid the bureaucracy of its arrogance? We are definitely the ones who have to do it, comrades.

It is also worth giving serious consideration to whether it is better to create a sharper distinction between political authority and economic authority. The government cannot hide behind the Central Committee and party. That destroys responsibility.

Comrades! The rebuilding of a class trade union movement is one of the party's greatest achievements in recent years. In its struggle with bureaucracy in defense of the vital interests of working people, dignity, and social justice, this movement has been able to count and can still count on support from a workers' party. Extricating the country from the crisis and its effects could be encouraged by a future social contract between a credible government and a representation of workers. But before then, we comrades have to answer the following key question: What is the state of implementing the resolutions of the ninth and tenth party congresses?

Baka, PZPR Lecturers Discuss Reform

LD0209232688 Warsaw PAP in English
1607 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 2—Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Wladyslaw Baka met PUWP lecturers to discuss socio-economic issues and results of the 8th Plenum of the PUWP Central Committee.

It was stressed during the meeting that the plenum brought a thorough analysis of reasons of social dissatisfaction and indicated the need and directions of qualitative changes in the process of reforming the economy. Tasks of the party in shaping the social layer of reform were also discussed.

Orzechowski Chairs PZPR Ideological Commission

LD0509221588 Warsaw PAP in English
2101 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 5—Today's meeting of the PUWP CC Ideological Commission and team for the preparation of the 3rd national theoretical and ideological conference was devoted to party's role in the process of economic and state reforms. The debates were chaired by Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Marian Orzechowski.

The debates focused on theses for intraparty discussion on party's role in the process of transformations. It was stressed that problems which the party faces are linked with the need for a more detailed definition of its place and role in the quickly changing society, in new realities, when new social and political horizons arise from national necessities and aspirations.

It was stated that reforms do not mean the straying off from the principle of party's leading role in a socialist society. Only the party fulfils it in new conditions, according to new rules, and with different methods. The key question in this issue is the development and strengthening of a coalition of reform-oriented forces.

Government Oversees Price-Wage Levels in Units

LD3108035088 Warsaw PAP in English
1131 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—The price-wage discipline in economic units is decisive of the level at which the movement of prices will stop in the entire economy and to what extent population's incomes will be covered by market commodities. One of the countermeasures against gross infringement of economic relations in this field by state enterprises and cooperatives is the implementation of the right, granted to the government by the law on special powers, to suspend or recall heads of economic units.

The prime minister, taking advantage of these powers and basing on the results of the first quarter of this year, decided to suspend heads of 27 cooperatives and to recall 5 directors of state enterprises. In tune with the adopted principle, supervisory boards may motion for an earlier withdrawal of the suspensions, depending on the effects scored in the second quarter of the year.

In the case of heads of 16 cooperative units, which visibly improved their basic economic relations, the decision to revoke the suspension was positive. Such a decision was also taken with regard to three other cooperative chairmen, after having accepted corrections to improperly reported data to the main statistical office and factors on which economic units did not have any objective influence. Supervisory boards of three cooperatives have recalled three managers already suspended.

According to the spokesman for the Government Planning Commission, steps aimed to discipline the basic economic relations are continued. An analysis showed that in the first half of 1988, those relations were

infringed in 945 state and cooperative industrial enterprises and in 862 construction enterprises. At the same time, it should be said for the record that compared to the first quarter, the scale of infringement of economic relations has decreased.

State, Party Leaders Visit Workers Countrywide

Baryla at Plock plant

AU0509171188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Sep 88 p 2

[Report on 31 August meeting between General Jozef Baryla, PZPR Politburo member, and workers and party aktivs of the Plock harvesting machinery plant to discuss the eighth party plenum materials]

[Text] Open party meetings in the W-2 shop of the Plock harvesting machinery plant have their traditions, because at these meetings workers are able to talk with representatives of the supreme authorities. On 31 August they met with J. Baryla and discussed with him the vital issues of the plant and national events. Prior to this discussion, J. Baryla toured their plant, the efficient workers hostel, the medical station, and some social facilities.

We have all heard the reports on the deliberations of the seventh plenum, which confirmed the present lines of state and economic reforms, Remigiusz Wysocki, member of the primary party organization in the trade department, said during the meeting and added: The plan for repairing our economy should be drawn up with the participation of large segments of our people, mainly young people, because the country will not be able to develop without their help. Young people must accept the vision of Poland's future, because it will be their Poland and their future. It is time for us to go back to previous resolutions adopted by the Central Committee plenums and by plant cells of the party. The people responsible for these resolutions should account for their implementation. We must know the names of those who are responsible for successes and failures.

Other participants in the meeting also appealed for a consistent implementation of the present party resolutions. Juliusz Reiter, an activist in the ZSMP, recalled a similar meeting of a year ago and said that he would like to know to what extent the proposals submitted by the common people at meetings such as the present one are reflected in the activities of the higher echelons. I am especially interested, he said, in the postulates concerning housing construction, cadre policy and practice, and the modernization of state structures.

Zdzislaw Grzanowicz from the quality control department stressed the need to create a transparent system of old-age and other pensions. He said that unceasing efforts to modify regulations and to supplement pensions with various benefits helps to shake the feeling of the security of people about to retire. It is high time to ensure that people who have worked all their lives do not have to worry about their pensions and are able to tell their children how honest work is honored.

Many participants in the meeting discussed plant efforts to realize the economic reform. Janusz Kominiak from the supply department said that the plant's production is safe for only 4-5 days because of the Stalowa Wola strike. Our production was also complicated by the strike in the Lenin foundry in the past. At present, we cannot obtain a wheel unless we give the supplier our own nuts. But where can we get them? This situation is hardly in line with the spirit of the economic reform. We can take small steps when going for a walk, but small steps will not help to forge ahead when the world is running away from us insofar as the development of the economy and civilization is concerned.

Today our production is 45 percent larger than 8 years ago, Jozef Starachowski, the manager of the plant, said. All our products carry quality certificates. We continue to modernize old machines and design new ones and rely on ourselves in this program. That is why in the past few months our agriculture has been supplied with over 100 new combines. I want to thank all my workers for their consistent efforts during that difficult period.

Participants in the meeting stressed that in its resolution the eighth party plenum obliged the government to make leading cadres personally responsible for decisions and their realization. The present practice of making responsibility the concern of the press or various reports must cease.

It is often that even comrades do not appreciate our efforts, Albin Malkiewicz, secretary of the workers council, said. At one time some people wanted to expel me from the party because I was loud and open in criticizing the errors which we all now know.

Speaking at the meeting, J. Baryla said that the party continues to learn political and economic lessons from the current situation. Replying to questions from the floor, he discussed the country's economic situation, its mutual links, and the results of standstills in some plants. Wages are not always the most important issue for people, but they are no doubt important enough, he said. People also want to have a sense of justice, suitable social conditions, and an atmosphere of respect for man. Workers must know that they are more important for the plant than machines and mere economic indexes. Plant management, party and trade union organizations, and self-management bodies must cooperate to this end.

Leveling much criticism against some economic decisions, especially those in prices-income policy, representatives of the plant's workers stressed their conviction that the method of strike under the present Polish conditions are suicide and only help to make the present bad situation worse.

Michalek in Tarnobrzeg Region

AU0609131988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Sep 88 p 2

[Report on 31 August meeting between Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, and workers and aktivs in the Tarnobrzeg region]

[Text] During his tour of the Tarnobrzeg region, Z. Michalek met with the region's authorities and toured the voivodship agro-industrial enterprise in Nisko.

The enterprise, which has the monopoly on meat production, is able to supply 40 percent of the raw meat it needs from its own sources and to raise with its own fodder 40,000 hogs in 23 breeding stations, which were at one time taken over in derelict condition. The enterprise also uses for feeding some 40 million liters of whey annually, which was previously disposed as sewage. The enterprise sells its meat products in 80 shops it owns and in other places in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship and in other regions, mainly Silesia.

Z. Michalek talked with some workers at their posts and with foreman Danuta Nowicka. I am a graduate of the Central School of Agriculture and have been here 1 year now, she said. I see my future in this plant because its organization and discipline are very good. The plant has development prospects and so have its workers. For the past 6 months I have tried to obtain an apartment, and it looks as if I am going to get one soon.

Z. Michalek asked her: Are you one of those young people who can deny that young people do not have a chance?

Nowicka: There are many such young people here, not only myself....

In the house of culture in Stalowa Wola steel plant Z. Michalek met with social, political, and economic aktivs, whose statements mainly expressed concern for the events in the plant, in which some workers were still on strike on Wednesday and in which the technicians and workers wishing to work continued to be prevented from going to their job positions. Referring to the eighth party plenum, the participants in the meeting stressed the need for urgent party supervision over the realization of the economic reform and noted that the fact that the workers' just claims had not been settled in good times was one of the reasons for the present social unrest. In this connection, they stressed the need for roundtable talks, which can be held only under conditions of social stability and the ending of strikes.

The meeting with aktivs was also attended by Janusz Basiak, head of the Central Committee Department of Socioeconomic Policy.

Cypryniak With Przemysl Young Workers

AU0609132688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Sep 88 p 2

[Report on the 31 August meeting between Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Cypryniak and workers of the Przemysl millboard plant]

[Text] "What we need is a more dynamic realization of the economic and sociopolitical reforms in line with the intentions of the eighth party plenum." This was the leading motive of the meeting in the Przemysl millboard plant, which was attended by Z. Cypryniak on 31 August.

The Przemysl plant is one of the outstanding plants in the voivodship and belongs to a leading group of exporters of millboards. The meeting of the plant's primary party organization discussed the plant's internal problems as well the country's, especially the strikes, which continue to ruin the economy. Leszek Kaminski, who represented the plant's young workers, said that it was disquieting that young workers were among the strikers. He said that this was because young workers find it very difficult to make their way in life and have to wait many years for apartments, and because talented university graduates "search for money" in various private enterprises and do not take jobs for which they have been trained. The Przemysl millboard plant has greatly alleviated the housing problem by setting up its own cooperative housing plant, which is able to produce workers' apartments within 3 years. This shows that many problems can be solved by exercising initiative and boldness.

Kazimierz Citkowski, head of the supply department said: We need understanding before a misunderstanding materializes.... This statement was supplemented by Jan Marek, the chief energy engineer, who said that reasonable work should be rewarded with reasonable wages. Tadeusz Maliczowski, a production worker, stressed that the issue is quite simple: We have many good resolutions, but we lack perseverance and stubbornness to implement them, and that is why we are marking time.

Our troubles and difficulties, K. Cypryniak said, must act as an incentive for us to be even more keen on transforming socioeconomic mechanisms and developing an extensive proreform movement for the sake of improving our reforms, which we must never give up under any circumstances. We must talk with anyone who wants to improve the living conditions in our socialist fatherland.

Rakowski at Szczecin Works

LD0209201088 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee visited Szczecin today. On his way from the airport he paid a visit to the "Zalom" cable factory. Here is a report by Zbigniew Skalur. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Skalur] A few minutes ago you met the work force of the enterprise, which was able to adapt perfectly to the conditions of reform. I think that in such a place it will be easier to talk about hopes connected with the restructuring of our economy.

[Rakowski] Most certainly. It is so heartwarming. Every time I meet people who say that they achieved something worthy of note in the economic reform, I become more convinced that in Poland, besides those who have failed, there are those who succeed, and what is more there are those who are able to make use of chances now created for the development of enterprises based on the principles contained in the entire package of economic reform. And, besides, I have an easier life and easier work to do when I know that there are also successes, and that the claims of a general inability are simply unfounded. So I am satisfied that I have come here.

[Skalur] Thank you very much. [end recording] After his meeting at the "Zalom" factory, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, accompanied by Edward Kuczera, deputy head of the Socio-political Department of the Central Committee, and Prof Stanislawa Borkowska, deputy minister of labor and wages, went on to a meeting with party and workers aktiv of Szczecin voivodship. On taking the floor Mieczyslaw Rakowski said:

[Begin recording] [Rakowski] This morning on my way from the airport I visited the "Zalom" factory where I met with the work crew, who work very well. The factory is in full swing; it boasts of production successes and also of its social policy toward its employees. And then I passed by the silent, forlorn port. I was thinking: how is it that in one city the working class is not losing its basic instinct, which is care for the place of work, and in another city a group of people have lost the instinct and have tranformed part of the city into a desert.

It is hard to look at the devastation which is being made by people who support the strike in the port, jeopardizing those, who for various reasons, in the firm moment answered their call.

There is no doubt that strikes have not only disturbed the normal rhythm of work, but also have created political tensions in the country, and these tensions continue in various places. Poland has lost the position it regained in past years in the international arena and has also lost, or has begun to create, a situation not favoring the program of reconstruction which is being implemented in the Soviet Union. Perestroyka, or reconstruction, is being carried out in extremely complicated circumstances, in circumstances of clashes between various forces. All those who think that it is in fact a violation of basic principles of socialism, that it does not know where it is going, are given ammunition in the shape of unrest and strikes in Poland. They say: Look what comes with your much vaunted democratization. If anything concerns me very much it is the fact that we provide such negative evidence to all those who are interested in reconstruction in the socialist world, and in the creation of conditions in which socialism is a very productive, fair, and promising system. [end recording]

In the second part of the meeting many questions were asked, mainly concerning the resolution of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum, the chances for success of the economic and political reform, and the economic effects of strikes.

Next, Mieczyslaw Rakowski went on to a meeting at the Szczecin Warski shipyard.

5 Sep Visits Summarized

AU0809150088 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 6 September publishes on page 4 under the heading "Members of Party Leadership Among Work Forces" the PAP-attributed 1,600-word roundup of the 5 September visits to various factories by party leaders, who also commented on the country's present situation.

During his visit to the Belchatow brown coalmine, Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, is reported to have said: "The party wanted to end strikes as rapidly and as painlessly as possible. This was the goal of the party and its allies—the Catholic Church and many communities and authorities. To end the strikes, it was necessary to talk. We did talk with whoever was able to help end strikes, despite the risk that such talks might have produced nothing.

"The party must use political evaluations and methods in its work, that is, take into account reality as it is and the views and attitudes of the workers class and its individual communities.

"We must not become stewed in accusations, no matter how correct. Our primary task is to learn all the lessons from the irregularities of our life, which have been laid bare in the tense atmosphere of strikes. The fact that some strikers have raised confrontational issues should not make us deaf to the angry but just demands for improving the economy, the state government, and plant management.

"We should never lack courage in searching for solutions that are conciliatory, because only such courage will win us the people's understanding and support in solving the most difficult problems."

Politburo Member Zygmunt Muranski, who went to Andrychow to meet the workers of the Andoria supercharged engine plant, is quoted as saying that the authorities are resolved to consistently carry out the economic reform in order to eliminate various economic paradoxes and, in the long run, stabilize the national economy.

During her visit to the Wykromet mechanical equipment plant in Czestochowa, Politburo member Zofia Stepien is reported to have attended a meeting of the plant's political-economic aktivs, which expressed their doubts as to the meaningfulness of roundtable talks with the people responsible for destroying social peace in the past, and which stressed that solicitude for party unity should always be kept in mind.

During his visit to the industrial combine for egg production in Niemodlin, the Interpegro plant in Chroscina Nyska, and the Agromet plant in Brzeg, all in Opole Voivodship, Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, is reported to have discussed the country's present situation, the recent strikes and their consequences, and the coming roundtable talks.

Baka, Party Members in Gdansk, Elsewhere

LD0509223188 Warsaw PAP in English 1906 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 5—After the 8th PUWP CC Plenum, members of the representatives of work crews, heard their opinions on the socio-economic situation in the region and at their home plants as well as those concerning the realization of the resolutions of the three latest PUWP CC plenary meetings and the construction of the widely understood national agreement stemming thereout.

PUWP CC Political Bureau member Zofia Stepien was visiting the "Wykromat" mechanical plant in Czestochowa where she familiarized herself with the situation of the party organization, production process and the crew's welfare issues.

The relations between the wages and work, inadequate development of housing, problems with market supplies were the most frequently reccuring topics in the talks held by PUWP CC Political Bureau member Zygmunt Muranski with the workers of the "Andoria" diesel engines plant in Andrychow.

PUWP CC Political Bureau Member, CC Secretary Wladyslaw Baka was paying a visit to the Gdansk coast today. He started the tour with the Gdansk-based "Komuny Paryskiej" shipyard. While visiting this most modern shipyard, Baka was interested in its economic situation.

At the end of his visit there, Baka met with the yard's management and workers' activists. The talks focussed on the current economic and political situation in Poland. Participants in the meeting were particularly interested in impeding unfavourable economic processes which mainly hit the working class. Some questions also concerned the future of the shipping industry.

During a meeting with political and economic activists of the Gdansk district Portowa, Wladyslaw Baka stressed that the 8th PUWP CC plenary meeting was a continuation of earlier actions and discussions, and especially of the 7th PUWP CC plenary meeting, and so it was not true a thesis that the assessment being formulated now of the state of the economy was allegedly stemming from social tensions and strikes. The evaluation had been formulated sharply and clearly: Insufficient was progress in introducing reforms into the economy, and some sectors reported symptoms of regression.

During a discussion the meeting critically assessed the state of the economy and inconsistency observe [as received] the division of powers and responsibility between the party and the government.

Much attention was paid to the attitude towards the opposition. Voicing its recognition for announcements to broaden the basis of national agreement and practical steps taken in this direction, the meeting also stressed the necessity to consistently enforce law upon those forces and people who performed illegal actions. In this context questions were asked on the responsibility for organizing illegal strikes.

Wladyslaw Baka said that according to the opinion which prevailed during the plenary meeting one should make an in-depth assessment of the goverment work. It is necessary, among others, to wait for opinions of the Sejm (Polish parliament) Extraordinary Committee. One cannot be guided by emotions. The assessment should include objective factors which put the economy in the difficult situation and to separate them from subjective mistakes. According to the PUWP CC secretary one of these mistakes was too much attention paid to administration and legislative activity without taking into consideration practical results. W. Baka considered it the most urgent task now to reach a more visible improvement in market supply. However, one should do one's best so that an excessive wage growth—and such a danger is real—do not "consume" bigger market supply without proper results for the market equilibrium. The plan to freeze prices and wages was given up.

The PUWP CC secretary discussed also long-range tasks, and especially a plan to consolidate the national economy till 1990, and plans concerning the restructuring of the economy and consolidation of the Polish currency.

Political Bureau member, PUWP CC Secretary Jan Glowczyk met with workers of the Belchatow mine. Answering a number of questions which referred to things of greatest importance for the working people and the party today, Glowczyk said, among other things:

"Inflation is our main enemy we shall have to cope with within the next two or three years. To solve this and other social problems we must have a broader basis of national agreement. The idea of such an agreement, including a round table meeting which leads to it, was

formulated by Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 7th CC Plenum last June and recently confirmed at the 8th plenum. This is an appeal addressed to all the people preferring dialogue to confrontation.

"The consequences of the strikes, combined with the errors in the economic policy, form an additional burden shouldered chiefly by the working class. They worsen the difficulties in supplies for enterprises and are difficult to compensate.

"In the programmes of its 9th and 10th congresses the party made a decisive stake on restoring and maintaining the links with working people even at times when it has reasons to evaluate the behaviour of some of them as irrational. The measures of recent weeks were dictated by this line.

"Strikes are materially devastating but permitting a confrontation-like clash of Poles would ruin us morally and would put off the progressing process of national agreement," Glowczyk stressed.

When visiting the province of Piotrkow Glowczyk also took part in a meeting with local sportsmen heading for the Olympic Games in Seoul.

Meanwhile, the province of Opole was visited by Alternate Political Bureau Member, PUWP CC Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

Messner Hears Farmers' Complaints on Economy

LD0809091688 Warsaw PAP in English 2040 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sep. 7—Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner met with Presidium of the Main Council and Board of the National Union of Farmers, circles, and farmers organizations today. They discussed the present social-political, and economic situation in Poland with special regard to rural community and agriculture. They said that the existing tensions jeopardise the development of farming and living conditions in villages. This is caused chiefly by failures to meet the investment plans in the food economy complex and the economic policy on farmers, especially that regulating prices and incomes. The attempt to reach better relation of incomes in rural and other populations has not been succesful and the profitability of farm production has not noticeably improved after the procurement price increases last July.

The presented explanations show that some of the discussed problems are already dealt with and others will be attended soon. This applies to what was postulated by the union, namely the idea of society's representatives taking part in the process of shaping prices and incomes in agriculture. This will be served by the creation of a social-state committee for the affairs of price-income policy.

The prime minister promised that there will be a joint evaluation made of the economic-production situation of farming after the third quarter.

More on Messner at Voivodas' Conference on Tasks

AU0609110888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Sep 88 p 4

[PAP Report: "Conference of Voivodas"]

[Text] On 1 September, at the Office of the Council of Ministers, there was a conference of voivodas to discuss tasks for the state administration resulting from the talks and resolution of the 8th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

The conference was chaired by Premier Zbigniew Messner who discussed the country's present socioeconomic situation. He said that many of the causes of the justified social criticism can be removed by improving the functioning of state administrative bodies, and many of the issues raised by society can be resolved on-the-spot, without waiting for central decisions.

Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda presented detailed tasks for the immediate future. He reported on the start of preparations for the plan to consolidate the national economy over the period 1989-90, adding that these preparations should be completed as quickly as possible.

As a result of this consolidation plan, the Central Annual Plan that was previously drawn up is no longer going to be published. The deputy premier therefore asked that when settling urgent matters, making decisions, and establishing tasks, the voivodas should not wait for the draft consolidation plan to appear, but instead they should use all available information from the government and from the present conference. For the plan preparations must not slow down the performance of present state administrative tasks.

Szalajda discussed at length the issue of market supplies and market functioning. He said that the continuity of sales of many commodities had been interrupted recently, and discussed government measures to increase supplies. Even with the increased supplies, an improvement in the market situation requires greater discipline, punctuality and responsibility in the work of trade and services. The point is to tangibly improve supplies all over the country. The functioning of trade must definitely improve, the deputy premier stressed. Society's dissatisfaction is frequently not just caused by an absence of goods, but also by the difficulty of shopping. This was particularly the case during the summer vacation period, when many shops were closed and the opening hours of others were not adjusted to meet the needs of customers. Also, a commodity is often in the storeroom at the back of the shop, but not on the shelves.

The functioning of public services must also improve visibly. The point is to adapt the opening hours of offices to the needs of customers, alter the way in which customers are treated by officials, and improve hygiene in public places. The deputy premier placed the voivodas under an obligation to review the quality of the functioning of public services.

Another issue indicated by Szalajda which causes disruptions in the national economy was the question of mutual indebtedness between enterprises and the settling of accounts between them.

Further in his speech, Szalajda referred to the constant wage disputes. These involve matters of nationwide or factory significance. The point is not to procrastinate in resolving these matters and not to put them aside without taking a stance in accordance with the powers at the disposal of all levels of administration. Such a stance does not mean at all that wage demands have to be met, but it has to adopted in a responsible manner and in good time.

Szalajda also reported on government work in the field of prices and incomes policy.

Czeslaw Skowronek, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Domestic Trade, described the market situation and the possibilities of improving it.

Decisions have already been made to increase supplies of food commodities in September. A tangible improvement to supplies of such commodities as butter, cheese, margarine, oil, pasta, and powdered milk is foreseen. The under secretary also indicated other possibilities for improving the market with the support of the local administration, such as an expansion of foreign trade in general goods, especially with the Soviet Union. He indicated a failure by the population to take full advantage of the new rules which permit trade, service, and gastronomic premises to be franchised or leased to private persons.

Lucjan Mieczkowski, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Land Management and Construction Industry, said that the government program to step up housing construction, adopted in July by the Sejm together with a package of new laws, permits favorable conditions for a solution to the housing problem. However, consistency in implementing these new instruments is required. For example, the law on urban planning calls for the preparation of building plans for all cities and rural districts by the end of the year. By the end of June, 360 rural districts (17 percent of the total) and 21 cities (3 percent of the total) still had not worked out these plans.

The preparation of building sites does not look too good. By the end of last year, only 75 percent of the sites required for the fulfillment of the investments called for in the present 5-year plan had been made available. There is still a shortage of plots of land destined for single-family homes.

In a discussion, the voivodas reported on the social and economic situation in their territories and submitted opinions and motions of a more general nature. Janusz Owczarek, voivoda of Wroclaw, stressed that a major obstacle to the reform is the continuing existence of various sacred rules, whereby, for example, even a work dodger who demands a well-paid job ought to be guaranteed such a job. Alojzy Wojciechowski, voivoda of Radom, said that last year, his voivodship office used up 5.5 tonnes of paper on various kinds of reports and publications, and between January and June 1988 it used up—6.5 tonnes! To give an example, continued Wojciechowski, reports on this year's harvest had to be prepared for four different bodies, each time in quadruplicate. There is no need for lists of agricultural produce every year. Neither the Agriculture Ministry nor the Main Statistical Office need them.

Speaking about the threats to the performance of this year's tasks in Sieradz Voivodship, Voivoda Henryk Antosiak of Sieradz pointed out the imminent lack of funds for construction. Credits for housing construction are practically exhausted. Stanislaw Kubczak, voivoda of Bydgoszcz, added that there is also a lack of funds for the purchase of plots of land allocated for construction. This is due to the very high prices.

Zbigniew Rosinski, voivoda of Pila, spoke about various activities in Pila Voivodship designed to improve service to citizens. They include an entire system of information on how to settle various affairs, a list of 100 matters that can be settled on-the-spot or in a short period of time, and the new practice of field trips by officials to outlying areas, where they can settle people's affairs on the spot.

In Tarnobrzeg Voivodship, added Voiovoda Boguslaw Jazwiec of Tarnobrzeg, a citizen's business matters should travel around the voivodship office, not the citizen himself. On Tuesdays, the office is also open in the afternoon. We have made an effort to have other public service institutions such as the Social Insurance Office, post office, and banks remain open at the same time.

Andrzej Wojciechowski, voivoda of Przemysl, presented a motion to resolve the question of the level of interest on housing loans. Although the basic loan, spread out over 40 years, carries an annual interest rate of 3 percent, additional loans carry an interest rate of 15 percent. This means that private builders rarely take advantage of these extra loans, and the construction of single-family homes is delayed.

Summing up the conference, Premier Messner said that all the motions presented by the voivodas would be considered at the next session of the Council of Ministers. He instructed the voivodas to display more initiative in expanding the network of franchised and leased premises and establish conditions for the setting up of specialized shops. The point is to develop all vacant premises into trade, service, and gastronomic premises.

Z. Messner indicated the need for voivodship administrations and banks to make it easier for citizens to conduct bank transactions. Another task facing the voivodas is preparations for communal ownership. The prime minister encouraged them to apply for the elimination of superfluous intermediate links in the economy. Another permanent task of the state administration should be to consider any proposals, ideas, and motions which would permit an improvement to the work of offices and to the service provided to citizens.

Deputy Premier Jozef Koziol, who was also present at the conference, and representatives of individual offices also presented the opinions and conclusions of the voivodas.

Szczecin Port Work Continues Normally

LD0809173888 Warsaw PAP in English
1525 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Szczecin, Sept. 8—Over 53,000 tons of cargo were handled in the ports of Szczecin and Swinoujscie on September 7. Today, the two ports are to handle some 50,000 tons. Presently, transshipment work is being carried out with 18 ships, whilst 13 ships are waiting at roadstead to be allowed into the port, chief dispatch engineer of the main board of the Szczecin-Swiniojscie port told PAP today.

The proceeding normalization of the port's operation is also reflected in the evident decrease of railway carriages waiting to be unloaded. Only a few days ago over 1,800 carriages were kept waiting, while now there are merely 290 of them.

Youth Union Presidium Criticizes Reform

AU3008073788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25 Aug 88 p 4

["Stance by the Presidium of the Working Youth Council of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth on the Country's Socioeconomic Situation"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] In our view, the second stage of the economic reform has not achieved the results expected from it. Most of all, there is chaos in prices and wages, and no relationship between good work and good pay.

Other problems are also arousing the concern of young workers:

—The hopeless housing situation;

—The absence of institutional solutions in state social policy;

—The improper deployment of capable young professionals because of incorrect cadre policy;

—The lack of interest in progress and innovation.

The workers' justified protests are not being heard, and there is no reaction to their opinions. Unresolved issues continue to resurface, which gives rise to sharp protests.

We thoroughly disassociate ourselves from the unrealistic political demands and lawless methods employed by some of the groups that disapprove of the government's policy. We expect action in which all sides in the collective protest, as well as the government, respect the law. We call for the consideration of such changes to the mechanisms of negotiations that would simplify communication between the trade unions and the administration, without the possibility of violating the law. [passage omitted]

The Presidium of the Working Youth Council of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, Warsaw, 24 August 1988.

Daily on Developments at 'July Manifesto'

AU0409132588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
30 Aug 88 p 2

[Tomasz Szymanski report: "Playing Cards"]

[Excerpts] A ray of hope that the strike will end; talks start at 1030. Karol Grzywa, executive director of the "July Manifesto" mine; Boleslaw Kiermaszek, economic director; and Tadeusz Motowidlo, chairman of the trade union; enter the mine. Some 20 minutes later, they return. The talks have been broken off, unfortunately.

One can see who is behind this and what cards he is playing. Even before management has had an opportunity to bid, the strikers have played a finesse. It is not representatives of the Interfactory Strike Committee who tried to talk to the directors, but representatives of the Solidarity Provisional Factory Committee. [passage omitted]

Director Grzywa firmly says that he wishes to talk to and will talk to miners only, and not to their advisers, whose strike objective is different, political. [passage omitted]

And so, at 2115 on Monday, the strike at the July Manifesto mine entered its third week.

The mine is still not joining the federation of miners unions. Only safety teams are permitted underground. They remove accumulated water and reinforce the supports. It is already known that the road leading to the new coal output, 12,500 tonnes, will not be a short one.

Democratic Party Presidium Favors End to Strikes

LD0209220088 Warsaw PAP in English
2103 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 2: While assessing the situation in Poland, the Presidium of the Democratic Party CC stressed here on Friday that the prompt ending of the continuing strikes would be of significance not only for

the Polish economy but also for the effectiveness of actions aimed to reform the political system and broaden the platform of exercising the power.

The meeting reaffirmed that the only way to overcome the current difficulties and protect the country against similar problems in the future leads through a deep reform of the political and social system. One of its most important elements is firm modernization and democratization of coalition cooperation.

The Presidium stressed that while continuing the initiatives striving for broadening the coalition, it is necessary to improve the already existing institutions and mechanisms of the political system. Also, the meeting opined that the proposal to convoke a "round table" meeting was a step towards broadening the basis of authority to include representatives of all important social groups in Poland, which had been adviced by the DP. The Presidium received with appreciation the support given by the PUWP CC for the DP-presented postulate to create the post of president.

It was announced that the nearest plenum of DP CC would be held this September 20 to discuss ideological issues.

State and Enterprises Must Avoid 'Politicking'

LD0409003588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2207 GMT 3 Sep 88

[Marek Lewicki commentary]

[Text] I would say that the news flowing in yesterday from Silesia and the coast favored internal psychological relaxation. However, I think it would be bad if we were to draw from the fact that the strikes have ended the conclusion that we have put the problem behind us. On the contrary, it is precisely now that it will be necessary to calmly seek practical answers to a series of questions comprising the fundamental problem of today: What must we do so that situations calling forth protests from the working people do not arise in our socialist state, on the one hand, and on the other, what should we do so that the interests and aspirations of these working people are respected from day to day, and not merely in a cycle from scandal to scandal?

However, I immediately make the proviso that in crisis situations it naturally is not possible to satisfy all needs. Furthermore, the demands of various working groups can be contradictory. Thus there are and will continue to be various objective causes for dissatisfaction. Above all, I judge that everyone simply should stick to his own task at every appropriate place and time, and should not disturb others, who also should stick to their own tasks. I will explain what I mean right away.

A work enterprise, irrespective of whether it is a factory, mine, or shipyard, was built so that all would benefit from its production. It is bad if the skilled workers employed in the enterprise concern themselves with politicking rather than with doing what they are paid for. At this point, it is a matter of indifference whether the issue over which they are politicking is correct or incorrect, legal or illegal; whether this is a ceremony of honor or a protest meeting. If it takes place during working hours, it causes losses.

In just the same way, ministries and central administrative, voivodship, and parish offices also are work places. Their administrative workers also should do what they are paid for during working hours and should not concern themselves with politicking. Two days ago, I was in one of the central institutions, which has a high percentage of party members among its staff, in which a party meeting on the matter of implementing the seventh and eighth plenum resolutions was called for 1400. The functioning of the institution was paralyzed. Intentions apart, in what way did this differ, objectively, from the strikes?

Perhaps it is time to accept the principle that amateur politicking should not clash with work, rather than to make mutual recriminations. At [word indistinct], the club, the community room, or in Hyde Park, on may do whatever the heart desires. It is different for professional politicians, however. In my opinion, they should have irregular hours, but strictly allocated. While others are working, they should talk with other politicians, write reports, and study reports written by others. After working hours, they should go where people gather so they may listen, reply, and discuss. Then we will gain two desired results: Politicians will not tear themselves away from the masses, and the masses will not tear themselves away from work.

ZYCIE PARTII Comments on Party Crisis

AU0109090288 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 24 Aug 88 pp 1, 3, 4

[Stanislaw Gabrielski article: "Changes in the Party—How To Build Genuine Leadership?"]

[Excerpts] We are entering a decisive period of realizing the 10th PZPR Congress resolutions. The processes of renewal and reforms are acquiring an irreversible character. [passage omitted] However, we cannot be content with the present results of the policy of renewal and reforms. Improvements in the economic situation are too slow and not all the positive trends that appeared during the initial years of the economic reform continue to persist. Social moods are tense, and states of passivity, apathy, and frustration caused by the feeling that stagnation or even the deterioration of living conditions may be permanent are continuing. Strong claims for compensations continue to be made. The awareness that the price for getting out of the crisis trap and the conviction that our regression should be stopped as soon as possible are making very slow progress.

The processes of democratization and national accord have also taken feeble roots and have affected primarily social elites and opinion-making communities. However, promoting those processes in production communities, in relations between the party and the workers class, and in the younger generation is an increasingly urgent necessity. The mechanisms that tend to halt renewal are also strong. We have not been able to identity and overcome all objective and subjective barriers that continue to slow down our onward march.

This was noted by the seventh party plenum, which analyzed the situation in a critical and self-critical manner and indicated ways and means of speeding up changes and increasing the effectiveness of the realization of the 10th congress resolutions. [passage omitted]

The seventh plenum expressed the growing conviction that accelerating reforms and democratization calls for more intensive transformations within the party. Strengthening the party in this way is a need that is being stressed not only by party aktivs, but also by many social communities, which want to extend national accord and which know that only a strong party can construct and guarantee this accord. Under conditions of socialist pluralism, the party must be able to stand up to competition taking place within this pluralism. This phenomenon is qualitatively different from the traditional political struggle waged against the adversaries of socialism. The point is natural competition inside a prosocialist alliance and for a real and genuine and not merely formal mandate for leadership. [passage omitted]

However, a great deal of scientific research and internal party analyses show that there is still a long way to the moment when the party is able to master in practice a new model of leadership and a modern internal performance. The present extent of public approval of party activities and the profundity of party members' identification with the party are no cause for satisfaction. This situation is bound to disturb us. It would not be right to look for the reasons for it only in the general determining factors (they should not be ignored) connected with the persistence of crisis phenomena, or just in the past. We must search for these reasons primarily in ourselves, here and now. [passage omitted]

Some of the features that continue to weaken the party now are as follows:

—The unsatisfactory quality, the superficiality, and the general nature of analyses and proposals, including party resolutions.

—The occasional inability of party cells to devise their own profound evaluations and concepts of how to solve problems; submitting to administrative viewpoints.

—The inability to focus attention on crucial and real problems, and occasional efforts to ignore difficult problems in order to have peace and quiet.

—The low consistency and effectiveness of activities, simplified ideas about the effectiveness of party work, and, in this connection, proneness toward "reorganizing" bureaucratic thinking and action.

—A too tolerant approach to the performance of cadres, leveling criticism at higher levels only, and a lack of self-criticism.

—The presence of formalism, a lack of genuineness, and the persistence of a theatrical character of some elements of internal party life, as well as of meetings, conferences, and sessions of executive bodies.

—Opportunism and conformism of segments of cadres and the incompatibility between the officially professed views and private opinions, which are at times aired behind the scenes, which indicates a kind of double dealing of internal party life.

—Unsatisfactory intellectual and programmatic initiative and a feeble pulse and poverty of internal party discussions.

—Inability to work with people, to agitate, to convince, and to establish direct contacts with them; integrity behind closed doors, but no courage to defend party arguments.

—Moods of passivity and of waiting for something to turn up among segments of party members and aktivs; inability to take advantage of people's inventiveness and willingness to work for the party; the habit of working with small groups of trusted aktivs; the practice of convincing the convinced.

— Persistence of trends toward using administrative and command methods, which means that some party aktivs are helpless and lost. [passage omitted]

In the final reckoning the party's strength is always determined by the party's ties with the masses, which primarily involves the following tasks:

—At every level of its activity and in every community the party must create a proreform alliance open to all initiatives that help to accelerate the overcoming of the crisis, to promote democratization and reforms, and to trigger social militancy.

—Internal party discussions must be extended and organizational and other conditions favorable to stimulating the party's intellectual life and to creating alternative proposals regarding the solution of emerging problems must be developed.

The barriers that strangle internal party democracy and hinder the openness, collective nature, and genuineness of party activities, including the performance of the party's elected bodies, must be resolutely eliminated. [passage omitted]

—The principle that communists are equal must be observed in the party's practical activities at all levels. This means that arguments and not functions and positions should win the day and that the internal party distance between party cells and organizations and rank-and-file party members should be eliminated. [passage omitted]

—Doubts entertained by party members and aktivs must be clarified, the policy of the party must be explained, and one's identification with the party must be promoted. An artificial and formal unity is the biggest danger to the party. The true unity of the party must result from free discussions and profound consultations of decisions to be made, so that every party member is able to make a contribution to them. [passage omitted]

—In its political practice regarding party internal life and in playing its leading role, the party must follow the principle that it is necessary to trust people and to respect man's dignity and human rights. We must not view social processes as movements of some anonymous forces. [passage omitted]

—Internal party cadre policy must acquire a better quality. The seventh plenum directives in this regard must not be left to others to realize. Cadre policy is an extremely important function and sphere of internal party activities, and the manner in which this policy is realized exerts direct influence on the party's credibility and authority. Our people will always take an interest in this policy because of the party's role in the state and the nation. [passage omitted]

In the past few months we have often talked about the "insolent" and about "contesters." The individuals who want to change reality because they cannot come to terms with it, who fight for just causes, and who place social interests above their own should be welcomed by our party. After all, changing the world and not explaining what it consists of is the meaning of our activities. The party that is conceived as an association that supports the government has no future. Government can be only an instrument of policy, but not a goal in itself. [passage omitted]

Alternate Military Service Possible 1 Sep

LD0109041288 Warsaw PAP in English 1800 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—The amendments of the law on compulsory military service which envisage the introduction of alternate service comes into force as of tomorrow, September 1st. Draftees will be able to perform their duty towards the state in a nonmilitary form if this stems from their religious or moral convictions.

Let us recall that those performing this new service during peace time will carry out work in the area of protecting the natural environment, social welfare and the water or communal economies. The alternate service will last 36 months and 24 months for higher school graduates.

This alternative service is in no way connected with the military. It is supervised by the ministers of labour and social policy.

Leaders' Public Appearances 10-16 Aug

AU1908081888 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 11 through 17 August reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page given in parentheses):

On 11 August First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received Bulgarian Ambassador Ivan Gruyev and discussed with him the further development of Polish-Bulgarian relations; (12 Aug p 2) on the same day he received Marian Krzak, chairman of the General Savings Bank. (12 Aug p 2)

On 15 August Premier Zbigniew Messner received Stanislaw Kukuryka, Polish ambassador in Libya. (16 Aug p 2)

Ceausescu Speaks at Agriculture Meeting

AU0609193188 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Sep 88 pp 1, 2 and 3

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech" to the closing session of a working meeting on agriculture, on 1 September in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: For 2 days, the working meeting on agriculture has discussed key issues of production and has established the necessary measures to fulfill the 1988 plan and programs and to perform all operations for next year's crop, with a view to unflinchingly implement the decisions of the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP and to implement the new agrarian revolution. (loud, prolonged applause)

The meeting's proceedings took place in a broad democratic framework, with the participation of basic cadres in agriculture, of certain managers of state agricultural enterprises, of all chairmen of joint agroindustrial councils, and of the secretaries in charge of agricultural affairs and the first secretaries from all counties. One can actually say that the meeting has turned into a broad democratic forum, which occasioned a detailed critical and self-critical discussion; it was addressed by 271 comrades, who advanced many proposals and pledged to work better and to implement all programs and plans for the development of our socialist agriculture.

I was told of the spirit in which discussions were conducted. I listened to several comrades and I particularly value the way in which they tackled all problems. I particularly appreciate the good crops produced by the counties and units represented by the respective comrades, thus proving the great possibilities available to our socialist agriculture, which will undoubtedly be reflected in our overall production results, in supplying the country with agricultural and food products, and in raising the contribution of agriculture to the implementation of the party program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and to promote Romania's firm progress toward communism. (loud and prolonged applause; chants of "Ceausescu - RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the People!")

Generally speaking, the summer crop was achieved with good results. Summer grain production is better than in 1987. Concerning wheat production, 734 state and cooperative units obtained yields of more than 5,000 kg per hectare, of which 44 units obtained more than 8,000 kg per hectare, and 60 units more than 7,000 kg per hectare. Unfortunately, there are 1,079 units with yields of less than 3,000 kg per hectare.

Concerning barley production, 1,422 units obtained yields of more than 5,000 kg per hectare, of which 149 units obtained more than 8,000 kg per hectare and 215 units more than 7,000 kg per hectare. However, we also have 574 units with yields of less than 3,000 kg of barley per hectare.

One must emphasize that 38 counties have units with crop yields of more than 5,000 kg of wheat and barley per hectare. Only 2 counties do not have units with wheat yields in excess of 5,000 kg per hectare. Concerning other summer crops, we also have better results than last year, in general, but they still have not reached our full potential. For example, only a few counties obtained good yields of flax, by observing the appropriate density and by performing the necessary operations required by this crop.

Likewise, we cannot be fully satisfied with our results for beans and peas. Although the overall vegetable production is good—I am talking about summer vegetables—the yields are not up to the existing potential. The same applies to summer fruits, including strawberries.

While valuing the work and crops obtained this summer, I stress once more that we cannot be fully satisfied with our results. Not all units worked in accordance with the requirements of agricultural science, applied appropriate technologies, or properly performed plowing, sowing, and maintenance operations. If one had observed the established sowing and sprouting densities for which the necessary seeds were supplied, namely 600-700 plants per square meter, we would have obtained at least 5,000 kg per hectare, without exception, in all counties and units. This is true for all crops which did poorly in an important number of units, which are the result of poor activity, particularly by the experts of the respective units and the agricultural directorates, but also by the working people in agriculture and agricultural machinery stations, which failed to commendably carry out the necessary work on schedule.

We must emphasize this point at our meeting in order to draw all the necessary conclusions for thoroughly eliminating these states of affairs and carrying out the fall and spring operations in accordance with the requirements of agricultural science and with the necessary technologies and overall regulations. Only thus will we be able to implement the prerequisites of the new agrarian revolution in all units, to increase agricultural production and the incomes of cooperative farmers and the working people in agriculture, and to further raise the contribution of agriculture to the overall development of our fatherland. (Loud and prolonged applause)

Esteemed Comrades, we have just started harvesting the fall crops. One should consider the estimations for all fall products as a minimum and one should strive to harvest the entire crop without losses and store it appropriately.

As you heard today and in the meetings for county groups, we have a large corn crop. Several counties and many units, including joint agroindustrial units, obtained more than 20,000 corn cobs per hectare.

I visited several units. Recently I visited Pecica, where I noted with great satisfaction that the commune obtained more than 21,000 kg of corn cobs per hectare on nonirrigated fields. There are many units with similar results.

Concerning sunflowers, the overall estimate should not be under 3,000 kg per hectare; actually, one should revise this estimate and take consistent steps along these lines in all counties.

I visited a joint agroindustrial council and an agricultural cooperative in Ilfov. Although this visit was not prepared in advance—I simply went there to check the state of the crops—I must point out here, as an example, that I found the commune's party secretary and mayor in the field, harvesting the sunflowers. He told me that he has an average yield of 3,200 kg of sunflowers per hectare of nonirrigated land, but that he has another area with an average yield of 3,500 kg per hectare; he also told me that he will obtain about 16,000-17,000 kg of corn per hectare of nonirrigated land. Before meeting him, I visited the respective cornfields and I could ascertain that the party secretary was telling the truth.

However, I believe that the estimates discussed yesterday at this meeting on agriculture and presented to me this morning do not conform with realities.

All counties, without exception, should review their crop estimates, proceeding from the existing plan provisions which, generally speaking, cover average yields. It is necessary for us to do that!

This also applies to fall vegetables, fruits, and grapes.

Concurrently with establishing the real production targets—I insist on this, since those in charge of recording the progress of the crop harvesting must be given in writing the crop margins that have to be harvested and delivered—one should take all steps to organize commissions for each crop, in charge of harvesting and storing the entire yield on schedule and without losses.

At the same time, the contracting bodies, other agricultural organs, and the people's councils must actively participate in both assessing the value of the entire yield and harvesting it on schedule and storing it properly in the places established for each crop.

All agricultural state bodies, the agricultural state units and the agricultural production cooperative units are directly responsible for assessing the value of, collecting, storing, and strictly overseeing the accounting of the entire agricultural production.

The cooperative members, who receive part of the resulting grain and other yields in the percentages established for each crop, are directly interested in ensuring a real value assessment of their production and the commendable harvesting and depositing of the crops, so that each cooperative farmer can receive an appropriate quantity of barter agricultural produce as well as more money, as a result of the utilization of the respective agricultural produce.

Likewise, all the workers in state agricultural enterprises and in mechanization stations, who receive their pay in direct proportion with the production they achieve, should do all they can to obtain increasingly greater yields, because their pay and their income depend directly on their results.

This summer's agricultural products and the crops harvested this fall should be delivered to the state stock in the shortest time possible. The stock of grain and other products for cooperative workers should be ensured in accordance with the laws of the country and, at the same time, the fodder stock necessary for livestock breeding should also be ensured and the contracting bodies should completely oversee the accounting of these stocks and exercise control over them. The seed stock for all types of crops should also be adequately ensured. The attainment of all these stocks should be considered as a single whole and a single account, and under a unified control, as provided by the laws of the country.

Within this framework, I would like to draw attention to the need to obtain good vegetable crops this fall. We have ensured a supplementary summer sowing for the fall vegetables and we must obtain an abundance of vegetables for the whole country. Likewise, we must ensure the complete harvesting of potatoes, fruit, grapes, and, in general, of all agricultural crops on schedule. We have all the necessary conditions to fulfill the provisions of the self-sufficiency program and the plan provisions for the stock of agricultural products, vegetables, fruit, and grapes. We should do all we can to obtain supplementary yields and suplementary stocks for the needs of this fall and for the needs of this winter and next spring.

I believe that I do not have to further stress—but I still mention it—that the self-sufficiency programs include provisions for ensuring the complete amount for the state centralized stock and, concomitently, for the self-sufficiency stock in each county and in each locality. Only if we achieve a surplus for the state centralized stock will we be able to increase our reserves for the self-sufficiency stock by the established proportion, which is big enough, sometimes up to 50 percent.

I draw the attention of the party bodies, agricultural bodies, and the people's councils to the need to pay particular attention to the achievement of these stocks, in accordance with our provisions, in order to properly supply the population and all the working people and to satisfy the needs of industry and of the national economy, including the export needs. Only thus will agriculture fulfill its obligations and increase its contribution to the general development of the country. (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed Comrades, during the meeting we broadly discussed the necessary measures for the fall sowing, measures which are decisive for the next year's crop. We proceeded from clarifying the situation of the tillable land and the need to make rational use of the land stock, because we must stop having discussions with any unit or county regarding the situation of the land stock.

I would like to stress that next year the 10,220,000 hectares of tillable land should be considered as minimum. By next spring we should make efforts to achieve a certain increase of this area, by carrying out some operations planned for 1989. Between this fall and next spring we can return some lands to the agriculture.

We discussed these issues with all the counties and if there are still some issues which are not clear, they must certainly be clarified this fall, because the plans for the crops in every county, unit, and farm should be fulfilled by all means.

As you could see for yourselves, we have about 250 thousand hectares under state ownership, which are spread among various nonagricultural units, of which 150 thousand hectares belong to people's councils. We established that this year all this land should be entirely returned to state agricultural enterprises or should be given to the agricultural production cooperatives, and should be included in the production plan of the respective units.

Other sectors, including people's councils, should not hold agricultural lands. We have state and cooperative units and the land should be given to them for tilling, that is, to the units whose job is to till the land.

Within the program for territorial planning and organization, in the upcoming 2 years we will have to restore at least 200 thousand hectares to agriculture and each year we will start to cultivate this land after we finish the work of putting it into operation. Even after this, there will still be 200 thousand hectares left and we will have to examine the ways in which we can use them better. They will either be given to the care of silviculture for planting and possibly used for an exchange of land, or, those lands which can still be tilled, in the following years will be planted with trees or used for cultivating the vine, taking into consideration that these lands are mainly on slopes or in sandy and swampy areas, but which nevertheless must be used.

I hope you remember—since the issue was discussed by the groups and within the meeting—that drainage and land improvement operations are required in the nonproductive areas, particularly in those which are on slopes or in sandy areas, and all of them should be completely put in order.

Working groups should be organized in every county at once. The bodies which are in charge of these operations should work together with the state and cooperative units in order to carry out the established operations.

We must organize and ensure a better systematization of the agricultural enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives. I am referring particularly to the issue of organizing the fields, lands, and farms in order to avoid any waste of land and to ensure appropriate conditions for mechanization operations and for eliminating various roads and canals which over the years became useless and reduce our amount of tillable land. Practice has proved that very good results can be obtained in those areas where systematization was properly carried out and where the proper size of fields was created.

In state agricultural enterprises we will have to take care of merging some farms, scattered fields, small fields, and even some state agricultural enterprises which are too small and which, practically are unprofitable and operate at a loss. We must still eliminate such situations this fall. We should virtually achieve this in September in state agricultural enterprises. Within this framework, we should take into consideration the farms of the Agricultual Academy and of other research units, which are under the Agricultural Academy, thus making order of all this activity.

Aside from improving the organization of farms and brigades, in agricultural production cooperatives we should also consider merging small size cooperatives which are unprofitable. They obtain smaller yields because they cannot achieve a proper organization of the operations, since the fields they have are too small. Thus, we will have some cooperatives with much better results. No doubt, where we are considering the merging of a cooperative with poor results with a better cooperative, we do not find great enthusiasm on the part of the better cooperative. However, we will have to discuss all these issues and make decisions only within the general meetings and only with the approval of the general meetings. If we are not able to convince some cooperatives this year, we will have to work on the matter and merge them next year. That is, we must not work only on the administrative level. By all means, we should make the cooperatives with poor results eliminate this situation by next year.

By applying all the measures for ensuring a better organization and systematization of agricultural units—maybe with a few exceptions—we should fulfill the programs for systematizing and organizing farms and fields, in accordance with the norms established for each region, virtually this year.

At the same time, within this framework, we will have to establish a firm program of crop rotation, in accordance with the requirements of agricultural sciences. We must completely end the practice of sowing the same crops for 2 years in succession. Our land and crop plan allow us to

achieve a good rotation and we must draw up a county plan for each agroindustrial council and each unit, on the account of cooperation between units.

I believe I do not have to insist on our duties in this respect. You all understand the importance of ensuring crop rotation. As a matter of fact, in order to properly solve this problem, we decided to also include in this rotation the 1-million hectare areas—of pastures—which are sown with fodder plants, clover, and others. Without lessening the production of these fields, but cultivating them periodically, we can ensure a very good and even necessary rotation of fodder crops.

In order to achieve the planned crop production, we should commendably organize all irrigation works on schedule. I would like to draw attention to the fact that we must set up a special group and center to develop new irrigation technologies and resolutely proceed to use bed irrigations, which should lead to a substantial reduction of water consumption. Compared with other countries, we are wasting a lot of water and we are beginning to have water problems, which may even grow worse in the future, unless we adopt new technologies for crop irrigation.

We already have a large irrigated area and we must now concern ourselves with improving it and applying new irrigation technologies. In this respect, the agricultural academy must assume a key role; however, all agricultural bodies, actually all counties with irrigated areas, must think the matter over and deal with it adequately, as the thinking process and the finding of better solutions are not the exclusive domain of just a few of them. Each one can do this and the practical experience has always been a great help in finding better solutions.

Let us fulfill the land improvement programs, with everything they imply, and carry out the fertilizing operations with natural and lime fertilizers. Let us move on to deep plowing, so that there is no plow without soil-scarifier, and let us carry out soil-loosening operations at the prescribed depth of 60 - 70 cm, practically on the entire area, with a few exceptions.

We have clearly defined programs and the necessary means to execute these operations on time, hence, we must take all necessary steps in this respect.

We must reduce the abuse and consumption of all kinds of chemical items. There was a time when we have exaggerated their use, as did many other countries. However, there are still certain units which abuse the consumption of all kinds of herbicides, insecticides, fungicides, and other chemicals. Of course, they are necessary, but on a rational basis. As a matter of fact, we have already reduced consumption by 60 percent, but I am convinced that we can do even better than that. A comrade rightly said here that we must primarily fight weeds, including plant pests, by properly carrying out all agricultural and deep-plowing operations and applying other measures to radically reduce the consumption of chemicals, which are harmful for the plants, particularly for the people's health. I seriously draw the attention of all organs that one cannot replace hoeing and soil tilling with chemicals! We are just destroying the plants and the people's health.

Talking about the environment, we must realize that the utilization of chemical substances in agriculture is a most important problem for environmental protection and health care.

We must pay greater attention to all these operations, which are very important both for agriculture and for man's health. We talk about all this because only by implementing the entire complex of measures on the organization, systematization, and growth of the land's productive potential can we ensure conditions for further increasing agricultural production, ensuring ever larger yields in all units, and raising both the incomes of cooperative farmers and their contribution to the state stocks and to the country's overall development.

You know very well that the arable area per capita amounts to about 0.42 hectares, that is 4,200 square meters. With this area, we must ensure the necessary food for our people.

Therefore, each square meter of land should be tilled under the best possible conditions, so as to obtain maximum crops. Of course, our reserves do not lie in increasing the arable area. The only available way and means is to increase production and obtain maximum crops from each hectare and square meter.

I would like to refer again to the fall sowing operations. Here, it is necessary to sow the wheat and barley crops at the prescribed optimal times for each geographical area. I draw attention to the fact that fields should no longer be sowed to barley after 1 October. Hilly and mountain areas belonging to the second fertility group must conclude wheat sowing operations around 1 October. The date of 10 October should be the absolute limit for wheat sowing! Many units with poor results this year sowed wheat even in November, hence their failure to obtain adequate densities and yields. We must eliminate this situation! We must compulsorily ensure a density of at least 600 - 700 plants per square meter in all regions! The established quantities of wheat and barley seeds per hectare ensure such a density.

Next year, there should be no unit, in any county, with production of less than 3,500 kg of wheat per hectare—I am making a concession for next year—and 4,000 kg of barley per hectare! This is our target for the coming autumn! We should no longer have any county with productions of under 4,000 kg of wheat per hectare and 4,500 kg of barley per hectare. It is absolutely necessary to double the number of units with big production. I would suggest that all counties decide to make strenuous efforts to have at least 5 units with wheat and barley

yields of more than 8,000 kg per hectare in the second zone, and at least 10 units with wheat and barley yields of more than 8,000 kg per hectare in the first zone. All steps should be taken, as of now, to ensure that these front-ranking units become an example for all the rest. We must aim at ensuring that at least 10 counties register yields of more than 6,000 kg of wheat and 7,000 kg of barley per hectare. In this respect, one should establish—together with the Agricultural Academy and the Institute for Cereals—the necessary measures and technologies for achieving these goals. There are no zones where one cannot score such results! On the contrary, the units in the second zone have somewhat better conditions; they have more rainfall and less heat that can affect them at any time. However, life has shown that, if we do our job, high temperatures will not affect production in any way.

I would again like to draw attention to the fact that, in order to obtain good results next year and good crops, in general, we should apply the entire complex of established measures and strengthen the spirit of responsibility, order, and discipline in all sectors. Next year, we must obtain the best summer crop ever, in honor of the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, and the 14th RCP Congress. I believe that all counties and units will resolutely work to welcome these events with ever better results! (Loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu - RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the People!")

We should take resolute steps to improve the activity of state agricultural enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives. Let us properly carry out all operations and increase the responsibility of experts, engineers, and management councils from the respective units, that is, the working people's councils and the councils of agricultural production cooperatives. We should strongly increase the responsibility of general meetings in state agricultural units and of general meetings in agricultural production cooperatives, by strongly developing and unflinchingly implementing the democratic principles and forms of management, which ensure, in agriculture, too, the participation of cooperative farmers, peasants, and all working people in running the entire activity. These are essential and decisive prerequisites for fulfilling the programs on agricultural production growth and implementing the new agrarian revolution!

I would particularly like to emphasize the need to increase the responsibility and improve the activity of agricultural mechanization stations in carrying out all operations. We must openly say that the poor crops obtained are the direct outcome of the fact that the mechanization stations and their sections failed to fulfill their tasks and carry out operations on schedule. We must take resolute steps to firmly apply the principles governing the pay of agricultural mechanization stations and mechanizers—beginning with the management cadres—in accordance with their production results. We must achieve a close unity between mechanizers and cooperative workers, because the fulfillment of our programs and the achievement of a better agricultural production depend on them and their work.

Esteemed Comrades, I would like to refer briefly to problems in livestock breeding.

Although the number of cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry has increased, it is still not up to the planned level. We have established measures for the coming months—and I know that they were also discussed at this meeting—to further improve the situation in this sector. We must ensure the planned birth rate for this year and the best possible mating conditions, so as to to fully implement next year's program on raising the number of animals.

We should take measures to better organize veterinary health activity and to improve the work of livestock experts and veterinarians. We should substantially reduce the mortality of all types of animals.

Likewise, action should be taken in each county and each unit to properly harvest and store fodder and ensure the fodder base for winter. In general, appropriate measures should be taken to complete the work of preparing winter shelter in September.

We should review all the issues concerning production in the livestock sector, particularly of milk, eggs, meat, wool, and other products.

We should fulfill the programs established for poultry, small animals, rabbits, and other fur animals. You know the programs, so I do not want to dwell on them.

This year's results in silkworm raising are much below the plan provisions. We must see to it that each cooperative and state agricultural unit deals in silkworm raising!

Each unit should achieve at least 2 tonnes of cocoons. I do not speak of those units which are specialized in this field, but of all the other units in the livestock breeding sector. Let us see to it that each village household raises silkworms.

Likewise, we should take proper measures in beekeeping—although the situation looks better in this field. We should increase the number of beehives, thus, we should have no state or cooperative agricultural unit without bee-keeping or without beehives. Let us urge every cooperative worker and all the other inhabitants in villages to keep at least one hive.

I do not want to talk about other crops, because we will discuss them at our end-of-year meeting.

At the same time, we should concentrate on developing the industrial activity in agricultural production cooperatives. We plan to carry out all the industrial activity of the commune usually within the agricultural production

cooperatives and create a sector which comprises and closely follows all this activity. Only some service activities can stay with the consumer cooperatives, but all other industrial activities, including handicrafts and other activities, should be transferred to the agricultural production cooperatives; we should set up a strong sector of industrial activities. Likewise, the Agricultural Machinery Stations and the mechanization sectors should become mechanical centers for all mechanization operations, car repairs, and other repairs in order to avoid setting up other mechanical sectors; thus, in each cooperative—that is in each commune—we will have two sectors for the mechanization of agriculture. We should develop a industrial activity in these sectors and units in cooperation with the agricultural production cooperatives, and thus be able to increase their income and ensure jobs for the cooperative members.

Let us improve and perfect the whole organizational activity and all the agricultural operations in order to increase the agricultural production, develop other activities, ensure—I repeat—the income of cooperative workers and, at the same time, increase the contribution of agriculture to fulfilling the 5-year plan and the program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring the raising of our homeland to new pinnacles of progress and civilization. (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu and the People!," "Ceausescu, Romania, Our Esteem and Pride!").

Esteemed Comrades, the complex problems in agriculture require a continuous improvement of the research activity and an increase in the role of research institutes, bodies, and stations in all regions of the country. We have a strong research potential, we have an agricultural academy, and we have good results, because the great yields are achieved through seeds and plant varieties achieved by our institutes. Nevertheless, we must continuously improve these activities, increase the role of the research, and intensify our concern with creating new varieties of all species of plants, which are more productive, resistant to cold and drought, and have a shorter growing season. We have some corn species—even wheat—whose growing season is too long. We should obtain wheat with a growing season that is 2 weeks shorter. We need varieties of corn for catch crops with a growing season that should not exceed 90 days, but should be highly productive. The same also holds true for soybeans and for many other vegetables, which should reach maturity in a shorter period. We have a good start and we have recorded good results, but still we should intensify our efforts.

We talked with the comrades in the field of research about the fact that we need a revolution in the field of genetics in Romania in order to obtain new species. These are problems faced by the whole world and they should be solved. It took nature hundreds of thousands of years to solve these problems, but man, with his level of knowledge, should solve them in a few years.

I raise this issue because there are many experts present here. Each of them should be aware of the fact that thinking of, discovering, and creating new things is not only the duty of a select group of people. Everybody can create, including those who practice the profession now and have in the past, both in our country and abroad; people created things which meant revolution at that time. Therefore, we should embark on research and creative activity and should improve our research centers and laboratories in each unit. The engineers in agriculture, in cooperatives—and we have a few of them now—in the livestock sector, and those in the state agricultural enterprises should also work, think, and carry out research activity; thus, they will also improve their knowledge. Cooperative workers and all the workers in agriculture should also embark on this activity.

The same problems arise in the livestock sector as well. We need better breeds of animals, with other, more productive qualities, but we especially, urgently need well prepared technology on fodder supply and on reducing consumption per each kilogram of weight increase.

We must see to it that science is the decisive factor for agricultural progress and for the new agrarian revolution. We cannot even conceive of implementing our programs for developing agriculture without basing them on the most recent discoveries in science, on new technologies, and on new working methods in agriculture. Life and practice in the past years have proved that we have great reserves. The crops that you know very well prove that it is not a dream anymore, as it seemed 10 years ago, to achieve 8,000 or even 10,000 kg of wheat [per hectare]. This is reality. To obtain 20,000 or 25,000 kg of corn cobs per hectare is not a wish but reality. All these results demonstrate our great potential and our great reserves which enable us to change the situation in our agricultural sector and to obtain good yields every year and in every kind of climatic conditions, yields which can completely ensure a proper supply and the reserves we need. We must achieve this, comrades!

Likewise, we should pay greater attention to the activity of increasing the professional, scientific, and technological knowledge level of experts, workers, cooperative workers, all working people in agriculture, and of our whole peasantry. We obtain all these results with people and we must be concerned with improving their knowledge.

We have a mass agricultural-livestock instructional program, which shows some results. We should perfect this instructional program and should plan to improve the overall training level of our working people in agriculture, because only thus will we be able to guarantee that we will achieve everything that we have planned.

As you could see, we have good results not only there, where we have cooperative chairmen who come from the ranks of engineers; we also have cooperative chairmen who come from the ranks of workers, technicians, and

the peasantry and all of them have obtained outstanding results. Thus, each of them has proved that they can and must acquire the latest knowledge. We should have a competition for changing the whole peasantry and all the workers in agriculture into people with high revolutionary awareness and with great professional, technical, and scientific knowledge. Shaping the new type of peasant, the new man in agriculture means to achieve the new agrarian revolution! (loud, prolonged applause; chants of "Ceausescu and the people!").

We should pay special attention to organizing and modernizing production and increasing labor productivity. The established material consumption norms should be unflinchingly observed.

We should constantly work for reducing expenditures and for increasing efficiency and profits in each state and cooperative agricultural unit.

Let us do all we can to more markedly increase economic efficiency in our whole agricultural sector.

We should no longer have unprofitable products or agricultural units.

Concurrently with perfecting the activity of the democratic leading bodies, of the councils, and of the general meetings we should increase the responsibility of experts and of county and central agricultural bodies. First of all, I would like to stress the need to perfect the activity of the Ministry of Agriculture, of all its bodies, and of the National Council for Agriculture. The Ministry of Agriculture and the central and county bodies should completely eliminate conservative, retrograde, and old concepts and the lack of confidence in everything new and in the possibility of achieving a new agriculture, in accordance with the great scientific discoveries in every area—of biology and of agricultural sciences in general—because this means to think and to work in the spirit of the new agrarian revolution.

Unfortunately, we still have many people, among the employees of the Ministry of Agriculture as well, who continue to be prisoners of outdated concepts and who do not understand new concepts; here we should apply the principles of our democratic laws, the rotation of cadres, and send them to work in units, to learn agriculture all over again. Somebody who has been cut from the production flow for 15 or 20 years finds it difficult to be a good adviser to agricultural production. It must be well understood, and maybe we should establish it as a rule, that all the cadres who work in the county and central bodies should work for a period of one month every year, 2 weeks in one sector and 2 in another, straight in the production unit, but not as an "advisor" as we call it, (loud applause), but should work directly in the agricultural production! This is nothing to be ashamed of. This is a need comrades! We want to also introduce this method in industry and in all other areas. We also carry out this rotation with the party and state activists. We must understand that it is in keeping with the interest of each person to be constantly linked to life, to production and to permanently understand the new requirements and to see for themselves how things are done in practice, not just theoretically. Only thus can we indeed achieve an overall change in the management of agriculture! This is decisive for the implementation of our great programs in agriculture, and we are able to do it.

We should improve the activity of people's councils in every county, town, and commune, which, in accordance with the laws of the country, are directly responsible for the whole agricultural activity. The local bodies and the people's councils are responsible for everything on the territory of the commune, including state and cooperative enterprises and research stations, and these bodies should supervise the activity and ensure that the law is properly applied and the operations are carried out on schedule.

Particularly we should increase the responsibility of the joint agroindustrial councils in organizing the whole agricultural activity. We have achieved good results; nevertheless, we should work more decisively to achieve specialization in production and various livestock, fruitgrowing, and vine-growing, and other inter-cooperative associations. We should include in these associations the whole peasantry in hilly areas and in all the other areas and thus ensure the supervision of the whole agricultural activity.

We must understand that county and central agricultural bodies and the National Council for Agriculture are responsible for the whole agriculture and for the way in which each citizen tills each square meter of land and takes care of each animal in his charge.

We should improve the system of cooperation and we should make a better use of the means available to us, particularly within the agroindustrial council. It is unacceptable, as we also noted this year, that one cooperative concludes its operations, while others have hardly started them. The sections of the same Agricultural Machinery Stations have not been projected to work in a uniform way to conclude operations, and this proves that the mutual assistance and cooperation has not worked adequately there. Still, precisely this has been and must be one of the major roles of the joint agroindustrial councils.

Within this framework we should more markedly increase the role of the party organizations and of the party committees in communes, towns, and counties, as well as the role of the county party committees. Certainly, the bodies in charge of agriculture are directly responsible for agriculture and for the cooperative units. We are not thinking of replacing the managerial council of cooperatives or the managerial council of the state

agricultural enterprises with party organizations. Nevertheless, the party organizations and the party bodies should see to it that the Communists and all those who work within these bodies appropriately fulfill their duties and supervise this activity.

One must realize that to work in the spirit of the April theses means to put a total end to the negative states of affairs and improve work in all fields. That means to put agriculture into order, as well, and to take steps to commendably fulfill all plans and programs.

At the same time, we should also intensify the political-educational work of raising the overall revolutionary awareness of the peasantry and of the working people in agriculture! We should develop overall scientific and cultural convictions along with agricultural scientific knowledge! Let us raise the general level of understanding the great changes in the world and the huge achievements of science and overall human knowledge, proceeding from our revolutionary outlook about the world and life, namely, dialectical and historical materialism, and from the principles of scientific socialism! Let us ensure that all socialist builders, including those in agriculture, are men with high revolutionary consciousness and a patriotic spirit, who act in a spirit of full responsibility for the interests of the fatherland, people, socialist construction, and the whole nation's well-being! (Loud applause, cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu - RCP!" and "Ceausescu, Romania—Our Esteem and Pride!")

Esteemed Comrades, I do not intend to dwell on certain international problems. Everybody knows the foreign policy of our party and state. I would just like to mention the fact that the implementation of our socioeconomic development programs and the construction of socialism, including our achievements in agriculture, make a direct contribution to promoting our fatherland's overall development and increasing Romania's share in the policy of international cooperation with all states, disarmament, peace, and the creation of a better and more just world. The better the results we score in the development of our fatherland,- hence in the fulfillment of our agricultural programs too, the more our people's and country's contribution will increase, for peace and a new policy, which can enable each nation to develop freely, in accordance with its wishes.

I would like to emphasize that we unflinchingly base our relations with all states on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs of other countries, and mutual advantage. We firmly speak out for observing each nation's right to free development, without any outside interference. (Prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants "Ceausescu-Peace!")

Reality and life have fully shown the correctness of the policy of our party, which has always spoken out, beginning with the Ninth RCP Congress, for building socialism in accordance with Romania's specific conditions and realities, and applying overall laws and socialist principles to concrete realities prevailing in Romania.

Life has shown that socialism cannot be built on the basis of cliches or set patterns, that each party and nation is directly responsible for applying general laws, and that the people of a given country is the only and supreme judge of its party's policy. A country's people is the only one that can and must assess whether the chosen road of socialist construction is good or bad, and whether the problems were properly solved or not! I can state with profound satisfaction that we have had and still have good results and that life has shown that we chose a good road, which we will continue to follow, as it is in accordance with our people's interests and with the overall cause of socialism and peace! (Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; chants: "Ceausescu and the People!", "Ceausescu, Romania—Our Esteem and Pride!", and "Ceausescu-Heroism, Romania-Communism!")

We wish to cooperate actively with all socialist countries and carry out a broad exchange of experience. However, each party—hence our party and country, as well—must be the only one to independently decide what is best for it and how to work for socialist construction. We will not allow anyone, and will firmly reject any attempt, to teach us lessons or to claim to be knowledgeable about the problems of socialist construction. Let everybody prove this to his own people, in his how country! This will serve socialism in each country and the cause of socialism in general! (Prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!", "Ceausescu-Peace!", and "Ceausescu-Heroism, Romania-Communism!")

We are firmly determined to continue to intensify cooperation with the developing countries— joint ventures and mutual assistance—in order to promote each country's independent economic development, in the belief that this is an expression of our just international policy, which sides with all nations wishing to live in freedom and independence. (loud and prolonged applause)

We will also continue to expand cooperation with the developed capitalist countries and all states in the world, regardless of social system. We desire and will firmly work for an active participation in the international division of labor and in the exchange of material and intellectual assets. We realize the importance of and wish to intensify scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation with all nations. However, we believe that all this should be based on the new principles of equality, to the benefit of each people, without any kind of foreign interference in the affairs of another state. Only thus will we be able to implement the new principles of international relations and the new kind of thinking, which is currently asserting itself and must eventually triumph, namely the need for a new policy and for new relations of equality and progress for each nation and well-being and independence for each people! (loud and prolonged

applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the People!", and "Ceausescu, Romania—Our Esteem and Pride!")

Esteemed comrades, our meeting must bring about an overall improvement of activities in all agricultural spheres. Let us immediately proceed to discuss all problems with our aktiv in agriculture and to adopt the necessary measures for each county and unit. Let us take resolute steps to harvest the crop on time and to store it without losses. Let us commendably carry out all fall operations—sowing, plowing, and all other operations envisaged for this year—in accordance with the established technological parameters. Let us pay greater attention to implementing the measures and programs for the further improvement of the working, living, and cultural conditions of the working people in villages. Let us perfect the entire party-state activity in our fatherland's towns and villages and create the necessary conditions for further raising the material and intellectual well-being of the working people in villages and drawing the working and living conditions of the working people in villages ever closer to those of the working people in towns. Only thus will we act as true revolutionaries to secure conditions of full equality for all our fatherland's citizens and to raise our whole nation's well-being, the supreme goal of the party policy and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society we are successfully building in Romania! (Loud and prolonged cheers and applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!" and "Ceausescu-RCP!")

Let us take resolute steps, in a revolutionary spirit, to fulfill our plans and programs in all sectors! Let us begin to prepare right away for welcoming the 45th anniversary of our national holiday and the 14th RCP Congress with ever better results in all fields and, I emphasize once more, with the best results in agriculture and the best crops to date. This must be the commitment of all working people in agriculture and of all our peasantry on the eve of these historic events in the life of our people and party! (loud and prolonged applause; chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the People", and "Ceausescu, Romania—Our Esteem and Pride!")

I call on all party bodies and organizations, all cooperative farmers and peasants, all working people in agriculture, all agricultural experts and organs to act in a revolutionary and patriotic spirit, to show responsibility for the interests of the people, socialism, and our nation's future, and to do their best to commendably fulfill all plans and programs!

Dear comrades and friends, you should do everything to ensure that the 1988-89 year will mark an important point in developing Romanian agriculture, increasing agricultural production, and implementing the new agrarian revolution! (loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!", "Ceausescu-RCP!", and "Ceausescu, Romania—Our Esteem and Pride!")

With this, I wish you, all party organizations, the working people in agriculture, and all peasants ever greater successes and results. Much health and happiness!

(Loud and prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the People!", "Ceausescu-RCP", "Ceausescu, Romania—Our Esteem and Pride!", and "Ceausescu-Peace!" In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm, unity, and revolutionary commitment, all those present stand up and cheer for minutes on end for the RCP and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania)

Ceausescu Meets Mauritanian Minister 2 Sep

AU0209191488 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1849 GMT 2 Sep 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 2/9/1988—On Friday, September 2, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Mohamed Lemine Ould N'Diayane, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, who is paying an official visit to Romania.

The interview occasioned an exchange of cordial salutes between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Maaouiya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya, chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation, Mauritanian head of state.

During the interview, emphasis was placed on the fine links between Romania and Mauritania and the wish was expressed to further develop them, in the spirit of the understandings reached during summit meetings and talks. In that respect, the importance was underscored of initiating specific actions to secure the promotion of new forms of economic cooperation, the superior capitalization of the two countries' potential and the diversification of commercial exchanges, for the benefit of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of peace and understanding among peoples.

Aspects of the current international political life were also approached, with special emphasis on the cessation of the arms race, the achievement of a passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place, the peaceful, negotiated settlement of the states of conflict in various parts of the world, the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order.

Foreign Minister Ends Visit

AU0309134688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1037 GMT 3 Sep 88

["Mauritanian Foreign Minister's Visit to Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 03/09/1988—The minister of foreign affairs and cooperation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Mohamed Lemine Ould N'Diayane, paid an official visit to Romania over 31 August - 3 September.

During his talks with Romanian Foreign Minister Ioan Totu a survey was made of the current stage of the relations between Romania and Mauritania, of the ways and means of further developing cooperation in the economic, technical, scientific and other areas, in the spirit of the understandings covenanted and decisions made at top level. Opinions were also exchanged on the main international issues.

The guest also had interviews with Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Paula Prioteasa, minister of food industry, Pavel Aron, minister of transport and telecommunications, Alexandru Dimitriu, minister of industrial construction.

During his sojourn in Romania the Mauritanian minister saw round economic units, places of social, cultural and urban interest in Bucharest and Brasov County.

Ceausescu, Delegation Continue African Tour

Communique on Kenyan Visit

AU0709192588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1831 GMT 7 Sep 88

["Joint Romanian-Kenyan Communique"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Nairobi, AGERPRES 7/9/1988—This document, released at the end of the official visit of friendship Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu paid to the Republic of Kenya shows that the recent Romanian-Kenyan summit dialogue was an opportunity for the two heads of state to renew and strengthen the cordial relations of friendship and cooperation between their two countries.

The communique shows that President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu conducted official talks with the president of the Republic of Kenya, Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, which passed in a cordial atmosphere of understanding when an in-depth analysis was made of the ways to further develop the Romanian-Kenyan links of friendship and cooperation on the political, economic, scientific, technical and cultural planes, and points out that the two presidents expressed their full satisfaction at the development of the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Kenya, on the basis of the understandings reached in Bucharest in September 1987, and underscored the importance they attach to the strict observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, full equality of rights, non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, each people's inalienable right to self-reliantly decide its own development path, without any outside interference.

During the talks, emphasis was placed on the joint wish to work for the further expansion and diversification of the Romanian-Kenyan ties on the political, economic, technical and scientific planes.

Special attention was paid to bilateral economic relations. The need was underscored to further boost commercial exchanges, on equitable basis, as well as economic cooperation, in line with the programme-agreement on the long-term development of economic and technical cooperation and of commercial exchanges, signed in Bucharest on 9 September 1987. Furthermore, the determination of the two sides was expressed to finalize negotiations on the building of economic units under the protocol of the first session of the joint Romanian-Kenyan commission of economic and technical cooperation of 16 January 1988.

The president of Romania and the president of Kenya decided to expand bilateral links and meetings at governmental and parliamentary levels, as well as on a party line between the two countries.

Examining the international economic and political situation, the communique shows, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi noted with satisfaction their identical or very close viewpoints on the major issues facing mankind.

Considering that the current international situation continued to be serious and complex, the communique shows that the fundamental problems of our epoch are the cessation of the arms race and the achievement of a resolute passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place, the substantial reduction of weapons and troops, the ensurance of each nation's and mankind's vital right to existence, freedom and independence.

Considering that certain steps were taken on the road of disarmament following the conclusion of the accord on the liquidation of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles between the Soviet Union and the USA, the two presidents noted the failure to make a radical shift towards eliminating nuclear weapons and other arms of mass destruction, they underscored the need for the international community's intensified efforts to achieve disarmament, nuclear disarmament first and foremost, and reiterated their appeal for the use of outer space for peaceful purposes, asking the states involved to reach an accord to ban outer space militarization.

Highlighting with satisfaction the African peoples' achievements in their fight for freedom and national independence, for their economic and social development, the two heads of state also reasserted their support to the heroic fight fought by the people of South Africa against the regime of racial discrimination, for an immediate end to the state of emergency and the liberation of all political detainees, for the adoption of comprehensive and compulsory sanctions by the international community to help abolish the anachronical apartheid system.

Reiterating their countries' solidarity and resolute support to the Namibian people's fight under the leadership of SWAPO [South West African People's Organization],

its sole legitimate representative, for Namibia's independence, the communique shows, the two state leaders declared for the immediate and unconditional granting of Namibia's independence on the basis of the UN Security Council's Resolution 435/1987.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi reasserted support for a political solution to the conflictual states in other regions on the African continent.

In connection with the serious situation in the Middle East, the two state leaders were for a negotiated global, just and durable settlement of the problems in that area, conducive to Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, the resolution of the Palestinian people's question through the recognition of its right to self-determination, including the creation of an independent Palestinian state, and the ensurance of the integrity, sovereignty and security of all the states in the area. Stress was laid on the importance of calling a UN-sponsored international conference on Middle East issues, to be attended by all the sides concerned, the PLO and Israel included, as well as by the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

The president of Romania and the president of Kenya welcomed the agreement on cease-fire between Iran and Iraq, pointing to the need for a strict application of the UN Security Council's Resolution 598 with a view to ensuring stability, security and peace in that area, the document highlights. The necessity was also underscored that foreign military ships be withdrawn from the Gulf and free navigation be guaranteed there.

Referring to the complex problems of the current international economic situation, Nicolae Ceausescu and Daniel Toroitich arap Moi declared for a global solution to the questions related to underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order. In the context, the two heads of state back the calling of an international conference within the UN, in which developing and developed countries should participate on an equal footing so as to reach mutually acceptable solutions, with regard to the foreign debt problem included, as it seriously affects the developing countries.

Assessing that the complex international issues require active participation in their resolution of all countries, irrespective of size, the two presidents also declared for a growing role of the UN and of other world organizations in the international life. They covenanted to intensify cooperation between the two countries within international fora.

The communique shows that the president of Romania and the president of Kenya expressed their full satisfaction at the new Romanian-Kenyan summit, and at the understandings reached, and that President Nicolae Ceausescu invited President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi to pay a friendly official visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania, an invitation that was accepted with pleasure.

Leave Kenya for Tanzania

AU0709145188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1430 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Nairobi, AGERPRES 7/9/1988—The official visit of friendship paid by Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Mrs Elena Ceausescu to the Republic of Kenya, as guests of that country's president Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi, came to an end on Septemer 7.

A joint communique which will be released was endorsed in connection with the results of the visit, of the summit Romanian-Kenyan talks.

From the official residence assigned to them for their stay in Nairobi, the distinguished messengers of the Romanian people were seen to the International Airport Jomo Kenyatta by President Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi and Vice-President J. N. Karanja and his wife.

A military guard lined up at the airport presented arms. The state anthems of Romania and Kenya were played. Romania's president reviewed the guard of honour.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs. Elena Ceausescu then watched the pass-by of the military guard.

By the plane ramp, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs. Elena Ceausescu were friendly and most cordially saluted by President Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi who bade them a warm farewell. The two presidents congratulated each other again, expressing once more their satisfaction at the talks conducted and understandings reached, at the results of the new Romanian-Kenyan summit dialogue that opens up wide prospects to the fruitful multilateral collaboration between the two countries and peoples.

The presidential aircraft took off at 9:15 local time, making for Tanzania, the next stage of the new mission of peace and friendship of Socialist Romania in the African continent.

Through its whole unfolding, through its fruitful results, the visit stands for yet another important moment in the development of the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Kenya, a political event of outstanding importance.

Begin Official Visit to Tanzania

AU0709173188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1613 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Dar es Salaam, AGERPRES 7/9/1988—The official visit President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Mrs. Elena Ceausescu pay to the United Republic of Tanzania, at the invitation of that country's President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, started in a warm, festive atmosphere on September 7.

The new Romanian-Tanzanian summit meeting is an event of utmost importance in the history of the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Tanzania, meant to give ever wider dimensions and richer content to the collaboration on multiple planes between the two countries and peoples. At the same time, the visit is a telling proof of Romania's and Tanzania's will to make an active contribution to the settlement of the major issues facing mankind, to the establishment in the world of a lasting climate of detente and peace, of understanding and cooperation.

The arrival ceremony took place at the International Airport Kilimanjaro in Dar es Salaam, adorned with the state flags of the two countries, where the Romanian presidential aircraft landed at 10:30.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs. Elena Ceausescu were welcomed by the plane ramp most cordially by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Mrs. Sitti Mwinyi. The two heads of state cordially shook hands and embraced each other.

Mrs. Elena Ceausescu and Mrs. Sitti Mwinyi most warmly greeted each other.

Standing on a special dais, Romania's president received the honours assigned to heads of state.

The state anthems of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the United Republic of Tanzania were played while a 21-gun-salvo salute was fired.

After the report of the commander of the guard of honour, President Nicolae Ceausescu reviewed units of the Tanzanian Army, lined up at the airport.

Then, the Tanzanian officials who had come to meet them were introduced to the distinguished messengers of the Romanian people: Joseph Sinde Warioba, first vice-president of the republic and prime minister, Adam Sapi Mkwawa, president of the National Assembly, R.M. Kawawa, secretary-general of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, Salim Ahmed Salim, deputy prime minister and minister of defence, other officials.

Numerous residents of the Tanzanian capital, present at the airport, extended a warm and enthusiastic reception to the distinguished Romanian guests.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs. Elena Ceausescu, accompanied by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Mrs. Sitti Mwinyi, drove in an open car to the Presidential Palace, the residence assigned to the distinguished guests.

The official file of cars traversed the main thoroughfares of the capital, adorned with the state flags of the two countries. Thousands upon thousands of local people along the route most cordially greeted the distinguished guests.

At the Presidential Palace, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs. Elena Ceausescu then cordially conversed with President Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Mrs. Sitti Mwinyi, expressing their confidence that the current visit, the understandings to be reached on the talks in Dar es Salaam would mark a moment of reference in the development of the relations of friendly collaboration between Romania and Tanzania.

Ceausescu, Mwinyi Talk

AU0709201488 Bucharest AGEDRPRES in English 1911 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Dar es Salaam (AGERPRES) 7/9/1988—Official talks between Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Mrs Elena Ceausescu, and the president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Ali Hassan Mwinyi opened in Dar es Salaam on Wednesday, September 7.

The talks are attended:

For Romania by: Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister; Ioan Totu, minister of foreign affairs; other officials.

For Tanzania by: Damian Lubuva, minister of justice and procurator general of Tanzania; Jackson Makweta, minister of agriculture and livestock, other officials.

The president of Tanzania welcomed with great cordiality the official visit of friendship President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu are paying to Dar es Salaam and expressed his special satisfaction at meeting and conducting talks with the Romanian head of state, as well as his belief that the new summit would go down as a significant moment in the further development of the relations of friendship and close collaboration between the two countries and peoples. The Tanzanian head of state stressed the great appreciation enjoyed in Africa—just like the world over—by President Nicolae Ceausescu's actions and initiatives for disarmament, for the ever more powerful affirmation of the policy of peace, independence, understanding and cooperation among nations.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the invitation to visit Tanzania, for the friendly, hospitable reception extended to them ever since their arrival and expressed the belief that the new Romanian-Tanzanian summit dialogue, the talks conducted on the occasion and the

understandings to be reached would have a new, strong impact on the further strengthening of cooperation, of the links of friendship and collaboration on multiple planes between Romania and Tanzania.

Inspired by the wish to impart an ever richer content to the cooperation between Romania and Tanzania, the two presidents conducted an early exchange of opinions on the stage and prospects of the collaboration between the two countries, as well as on a number of current issues of the international life.

During the talks, emphasis was placed on existing possibilities of further expanding and diversifying economic collaboration and cooperation, more particularly in the industrial, oil, mining and farming areas, in transport and telecommunications, in wood-working, in cooperation in technology and science and in other areas of activity, as well as of amplifying commercial relations. The significance was underscored of the conclusion of long-term accords to impart stability and prospects to Romanian-Tanzanian relations.

The two presidents also exchanged opinions on current aspects of the international political life, paying special attention to questions related to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place, to the negotiated settlement of all interstate litigious issues, to the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new world economic order.

The talks pass in an atmosphere of warm friendship and mutual understanding.

Leaders Exchange Dinner Toasts

AU0709202288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Dar es Salaam (AGERPRES) 7/9/1988—An official dinner was given in honour of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu by the president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, and Mrs Sitti Mwinyi.

The dinner was attended by Romanian and Tanzanian officials.

During the dinner President Ali Hassan Mwinyi and President Nicolae Ceausescu proposed toasts followed with keen interest by the attendance. The toasts evinced the importance of the Romanian-Tanzanian summit dialogue, the conviction that it would contribute to the further development of relations of collaboration between the two countries, to their cooperation in the international life and in matters related to the guaranteeing of peace and progress, to the consolidation of friendship and understanding among peoples.

The national anthems of the two countries were played.

The dinner passed in an atmosphere of warm cordiality.

Ceausescu's Dinner Toast

AU0809093188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0746 GMT 8 Sep 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Toast" at dinner given in his honor by Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi in Dar es Salaam 7 Sep]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 8/9/1988—Mr President, Mrs Sitti Mwinyi, ladies and gentlemen:

We are thankful for your words of greetings and the hospitable reception we were extended in friendly Tanzania. On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party, of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as on behalf of my wife and in my own behalf, we convey to you, also in this format, a warm salute and the best wishes, and we heartily thank the residents of the city of Dar es Salaam for the welcome we were accorded which is to us an expression of the good cooperative relations between the residents of the capitals of our two countries, between the Romanian and Tanzanian peoples, and warmly wish them success in their work, welfare and happiness.

We are pleased to see that relations of cooperation were established and have developed between our two countries, between the Romanian Communist Party and the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania—in the political, economic and social fields, as well as internationally.

During the talks we started today we came to the conclusion that there are broad possibilities for those relations to further expand - in the economy, technology, science, culture and other areas of common interest—for the good of the Romanian and Tanzanian peoples and their free development on the path of progress, independence, liberty and peace.

We are convinced that together we will find new ways and new means these days to more strongly develop mutually advantageous Romanian - Tanzanian collaboration and cooperation, and set it on a durable, long-term basis.

We are for the second time in your beautiful country and we trust that this new visit will give us an opportunity to know something of the achievements of the Tanzanian people on the path of economic and social development, of strengthening its national independence. We appreciate the achievements you have had under party leadership and whole-heartedly wish you, the revolutionary party of Tanzania, all friendly Tanzanian people ever more significant successes on this road.

Mr President, Romania celebrated on 23 August forty-four years since the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation. In over four decades of life in freedom and independence, especially after the Ninth Party Congress, our country has gone a long way in socialist development,

from a little developed mostly agrarian country to an industrial - agrarian country in full progress, with a thriving scientific and cultural life, and a continuingly higher standard of living, materially and spiritually.

Romania's achievements in socialist construction show the force of a people that became master of its destiny, as well as the fact that only socialism can really take peoples to progress, liberty and independence.

However, for the economic and social development programmes to be fulfilled both Romania and Tanzania, all the peoples of the world need peace, broad international cooperation and collaboration. In this spirit, Romania has taken an active part in the international life, widely developing its relations with the socialist countries, with the developing countries, with the developed capitalist states, with all the states without distinction as to their social system. We firmly set these relations on the principles of full equality of rights, national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, the right of each people to be full master of its destinies, to make its future as it wishes, free from outside interference.

As far as the international situation is concerned, Romania takes the view that, although a few positive steps have been taken lately, it continues to be contradictory and complex. Or—as they say—even though a warmer spring wind has been blowing in some areas, there are others where cold winds are still strong.

Negotations led to the Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles and even to its implementation. And yet, the dangerous course of events has not changed essentially, toward detente, cooperation and peace. Nuclear tests have continued on both sides and improvements of these weapons are under way. There are conflicts and states of tension in various zones of the globe and the effects of the world economic crisis are fully felt, which further erodes the position of the developing countries.

So, our opinion is that, under the present circumstances, all states and peoples should firmly concert their action starting from the fundamental issue of our time—the passage to concrete disarmament measures, nuclear first of all. On that line, we take the view that, besides the implementation of the Soviet-American accord on the medium and shorter-range missiles, all should be done for a resolute passage to the conclusion of an agreement on a 50-percent cut in the strategic nuclear arms and at the same time that efforts should intensify in the direction of a comprehensive disarmament programme, of halting nuclear tests and the militarization of space.

Furthermore, we are for the substantial reduction of conventional arms, troops and military spending, for the elimination of chemical and other weapons of mass destruction. The money saved in that way should be used for the economic and social development of each country, first of all in aid to the developing countries. In that spirit, our country put forward concrete disarmament proposals at the UN and other fora, being determined to take action, along with all peace-loving forces, for an end to the policy of arming, for the promotion of a policy of peace and cooperation among all the nations of the world.

For that end, we would like our two countries to actively work together in international organisms, on the issue of disarmament included. As a matter of fact, all peoples should take action in close unity in that direction that is essential for the safeguarding of the right of nations to peace, to life, to free and dignified existence.

As for Europe, Romania works consistently for the successful conclusion of the all-European conference in Vienna, for a broad and unhampered development of cooperation in the economic, technical, scientific, cultural and other areas, for a united Europe of peace, understanding and cooperation.

Likewise, we are for the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace, cooperation and good neighbourliness, free from nuclear and chemical weapons, from foreign military bases, and we back the creation of suchlike zones in northern and central Europe, as well as in other parts of the world.

Romania has always declared for an end to conflicts and an exclusively political, negotiated solution to all litigious issues. I would like to note with satisfaction the tendency manifesting in various zones of the world towards settling conflicts and lessening tensions by means of peaceful negotiations. We are of the opinion that efforts should be stepped up to achieve a lasting and just peace in the Middle East, to convene a UN-Sponsored international conference to be attended by all the countries concerned, the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel included.

Romania welcomed the decision of Iran and Iraq to cease hostilities and start negotiations to the end of achieving a lasting peace.

The Romanian people, Romania have always supported actively and express their full solidarity with the African peoples' fight for independence and freedom. We further grant our entire support to the African peoples' fight for the complete elimination of colonialism and neocolonialism, of any form of colonialist exploitation and domination, for the consolidation of their national independence, for economic and social growth.

We are of the opinion that the fundamental problems of the African countries, just as of all the developing countries is the liquidation of underdevelopment, in the absence of which their political independence cannot be ensured. In this context we consider that an important role devolves on the Organization of African Unity

which can contribute directly to the strengthening of the unity of action of the states on the continent, to understanding and peaceful cooperation among all the African peoples as well as to their active cooperation with all the friendly peoples that wish to contribute to the economic and social development of the African countries.

We actively back Namibia's fight, led by SWAPO [South West African People's Organization], for independence, for the liquidation of another hotbed of colonialism in Africa. We most resolutely condemn the apartheid policy of South Africa and are for the creation of a democratic state where the majority population should participate, on an equal footing, in the country's entire development. We are appreciative of the negotiations between Angola and South Africa with the participation of Cuba and the United States and we hope that they will lead to solutions apt to put an end to South Africa's interference in the affairs of the front-line countries and ensure the independence of Angola and of the other states.

As for the world economic situation which affects the developing countries in particular, we think that efforts should be stepped up now more than ever before to overcome this situation, eradicate underdevelopment, establish a new world economic order set on relations of full equality and equity.

In this context, we declare for an international conference at the UN to debate the questions of underdevelopment—including the question of the developing countries' very big foreign debt—and ensure the faster progress of all states, of the backward ones in the first place.

We think that the complex problems of the international life require the active and equal participation in their settlement of all countries, more particularly of the small and medium-sized countries, of the developing countries which make up the great majority of the world and are directly interested in a policy of peace, independence and broad international cooperation.

The role of the UN and of other international bodies in the international life, in the democratization of interstate relations and in ensuring the participation of all countries in the resolution of the grave and complex problems that concern the whole mankind should enhance.

I would like to tell you openly that in our opinion the settlement of the serious international questions is no one's charity. The rich will never understand the poor willingly. The policy of force and dictate, of interference in domestic affairs can be liquidated only through the peoples' fight. That is why the developing countries, the non-aligned countries, all the progressive forces should strengthen their solidarity and cooperation. We want solutions to be found by way of negotiations with the developed countries, but it must be understood that the poor countries' patience has a limit. We must understand that the strength lies in the unity of the peoples that want peace, freedom, independence, a dignified, better and free life. Addressing the many, a Romanian poet of the last century said: Why do you forget that you are numerous as well as powerful. If we want we can change the world. A better life, every nation's freedom reside in the united force, in the peoples' fight to be full masters in their countries, to build their life as they wish. We are confident in the peoples' power, in the triumph of reason, of peace, of social justice.

Mr. President, I believe that our visit to your country and the talks we started today will open new prospects for a powerful development of cooperation and of economic, technical, scientific and other relations between our two countries.

With this belief I would like to toast

- Your health Mr President and the health of Mrs Mwinyi,
- The continuous strengthening of the cooperation between Romania and Tanzania, between our two parties, between the Romanian and Tanzanian peoples,
- Progress and peace worldwide.

Ceausescu Meets Mission Chiefs

AU0709184288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1808 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Dar es Salaam (AGERPRES) 7/9/1988—Wednesday, 7 September, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu received heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Dar es Salaam at the official residence they were reserved during their visit to the United Republic of Tanzania.

On the occasion, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were conveyed the homage of the heads of state and government represented by ambassadors as well as their wish to develop the links of friendship between Romania and their countries. Emphasis was placed on the special appreciation enjoyed by Romania's foreign policy, by the demarches and initiatives taken by President Nicolae Ceausescu for the achievement of disarmament, the establishment of a climate of detente, security, peace, understanding and collaboration worldwide.

President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the feelings expressed, and requested the ambassadors accredited to Dar es Salaam to convey his friendly salute and best wishes to their heads of state and government as well as wishes of progress, welfare and peace to their peoples.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu cordially conversed with the heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Dar es Salaam.

Editorial Article on Ceausescu-Grosz Meeting

AU0709170488 Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian
1 Sep 88 pp 1, 2 and 3

[Unattributed editorial article: "Important Moment in the Future Development of Romanian-Hungarian Relations of Friendship, Cooperation, and Good Neighborliness"]

[Text] A fundamental aspect of the foreign policy promoted by our party and state is to constantly develop relations of good, many-sided cooperation with all socialist countries, primarily with all of our neighboring socialist countries, and to strengthen the solidarity and unity among all the states of the new system in order to increase the prestige and influence of socialism in the world.

The recent working meeting held in Arad between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania and Comrade Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, is also part of this principled framework.

The Romanian-Hungarian summit dialogue was held in an open, comradely spirit and was an opportunity to discuss a number of issues of joint interest regarding the current relations between the two parties, countries, and peoples and the prospects and ways to develop these relations in the future, proceedings from the joint interest to strengthen relations of friendship, cooperation, and good neighborliness for the mutual benefit and in the interest of ensuring the socioeconomic progress of each of the two peoples.

As is well known, over the centuries, living side by side as neighbors, the Romanian and the Hungarian peoples established many ties between themselves. In this spirit, true patriots, enlightened political figures and revolutionary militants, progressive and democratic forces, and the workers class, lead by the communists in Romania and Hungary, resolutely rejected the policy of hostility and dissension promoted by the exploiting classes and imperialist forces, and strongly emphasized the need to consolidate friendship between the two nations and to develop their solidarity in the struggle for freedom and progress.

In light of these traditions, in the years of building the socialist system, Romanian-Hungarian relations have acquired a new and superior meaning, because they have been based on the bilateral treaty of cooperation and mutual assistance—a fertile framework which ensures the development of many-sided bilateral relations. As life and practice have proved, the basic condition for the development of these relations is to strictly apply the principles of equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage.

In this respect, referring to the talks held in Arad, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said: "We have discussed a wide range of issues. We have proceeded from the principles which form the basis of the relations between our states and which are included in the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two countries. We have proceeded from the interests of the Romanian and the Hungarian peoples and of our parties to develop cooperation and good neighborliness in the interest of each country's socioeconomic progress, of socialist construction, and of improving each nation's material and cultural well-being.

Certainly, we believed and continue to believe that good neighborliness and cooperation are a necessity for our people—as well as for all the peoples—to ensure the implementation of their socioeconomic development programs.

We took and continue to take into account that, at the same time, our relations serve the general interests of socialism and the general interests of cooperation and collaboration in Europe for accomplishing a united Europe based on the diversity of social systems and on the observance of each people's right to build their life according to their own wishes, without any outside interference."

In this spirit, noting that the meeting and the talks proved useful and lead to good results, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that the sides jointly reached the conclusion that they should strive to develop various aspects of economic and scientific-technical cooperation, scientific and cultural activity, and general exchanges, including the touristic sector, proceeding from what has been agreed upon and is believed that can be achieved under the current circumstances. In this respect, our party secretary general mentioned that it is necessary to intensify the exchange of opinions and of experience, in order to better understand the problems in one country or another and to find ways for increasingly greater cooperation in all areas. In turn, Comrade Karoly Grosz stressed that the negotiations and talks had passed in a good and useful atmosphere, and said: "I would also like to emphasize that our talks were characterized by the responsibility we feel toward our people in asserting our policy toward the socialist world and toward the general interests of mankind.

Likewise, I am of the same opinion as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu that judging and qualifying our policy is the task of our own peoples."

In this respect, it is significant that the communique that was issued reflects the particular importance in intensifying contacts and exchanges of opinion on all the issues regarding the strengthening of friendship and developing bilateral cooperation. Likewise, the sides stressed that the economic and scientific-technical potentials of the two countries are increasing continuously and the results

recorded in the mutual economic cooperation give favorable conditions to more markedly expanding economic exchanges and improving cooperation and production sharing. Likewise, the sides stressed the importance of developing relations in the cultural, scientific, and many other fields. In this context, an important contribution can be made by the mass media, which is urged to reflect the truth and realities in an objective way, thus contributing to a better familiarization with each other, mutual understanding, and to strengthening friendship and cooperation.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu mentioned, there are also issues about which we have differences of opinion. We believe—Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed—that these problems should not be dramatized or exaggerated; we should proceed from the need to clarify and understand them better and thus bring closer our positions and points of view. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said that it is important to give pride of place to those issues on which there are common positions.

With great convincing power, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of our party, stressed the thesis—fully proved by life—that socialism can be built under various conditions in one country or another and each party and people has the right and the duty to choose independently and in a sovereign way its own ways of building the new system. Nobody—said our party secretary general—can believe himself as the holder of the truth on one issue or another; the way in which various issues that emerge in the construction of the new system are solved depends solely on the respective party and its leadership. It is important to stress that, during the meeting, the sides reached complete understanding on this principled position.

In this respect Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "The development of the socialist construction and the trust that the respective party will enjoy from its own people depends on the way in which each party and government will know how to solve problems. The only judge who can assess whether the policy promoted by a party is correct or not is the people and the confidence of the people in the respective country. We believe that the time of the practices of attaching labels and of imposing a "model" of socialist construction has gone and it should never return.

During the meeting the sides also had an exchange of views on some aspects of the international situation and, on this occasion, they also noted their common stand on the issues of peace, disarmament, and other problems that confront mankind today; as a matter of fact, this stand was also reiterated at the recent meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member countries.

Through the discussions and through the conclusions and understandings that were reached, the Arad working meeting between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Karoly Grosz can be assessed—as our party secretary general noted—as an important moment for the future relations between the two parties and peoples, for the mutual benefit and in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace.

Certainly, all the problems cannot be solved and cannot be properly clarified during one single meeting. Therefore—the sides noted during the meeting—it is necessary to hold meetings at various levels and on various issues, in order to discuss issues of joint interest and to find appropriate solutions to their problems. The two general secretaries—notes the communique—stressed the need to meet in the future, every time a meeting is needed to discuss issues of joint interest.

Wishing and hoping that the summit meeting in Arad is an important moment in the future development of the relations between the two parties, countries, and people, the RCP, Romania, and our whole nation are driven by the will to do all they can to strengthen Romanian - Hungarian relations of friendship, cooperation, and good neighborliness, for the benefit of the two peoples and in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace.

Central Committee Message to Finnish Counterpart

AU0109125188 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Aug 88 p 5

[Greetings message from the RCP Central Committee to the Finnish Communist Party, on the 70th anniversary of its founding]

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Finnish Communist Party,

On the 70th anniversary of the creation of the Finnish Communist Party, on behalf of the RCP and the working people in Romania, we convey to you and to the Finnish communists warm congratulations, fraternal revolutionary greetings, and best wishes for success in your activity devoted to the promotion of the fundamental aspirations of the working people and of the whole Finnish people for well-being, social justice, peace, and progress.

We take this opportunity to reiterate the relations of friendship, cooperation, and militant solidarity between our parties and, at the same time, we express the belief that these relations will continue to develop in the future, for our joint benefit and in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

The RCP Central Committee

Nations, Organizations Note National Day

'Security Organs' Telegram

AU0209174088 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Aug 88 p 1

["Telegram Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu by the Participants in the Solemn Meeting Devoted to the 40th Anniversary of the Creation of the State Security Organs"]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Supreme Commander: On the 40th anniversary of the creation by the RCP of the state security organs, we ask you, with profound respect, to allow us to pay you a high and ardent soldier's homage for your heroic revolutionary activity in the service of fulfilling the Romanian people's supreme aspirations for progress, social justice, freedom, independence, and national sovereignty.

Expressing full joy and satisfaction at the great revolutionary achievements of the more than 23 years since you have been leading the destiny of the fatherland and party with peerless wisdom, daring, and clearsightedness, the command and party aktiv and all members of the State Security Department reiterate their profound sentiments of boundless love for you as well as their unlimited devotion and supreme gratitude for your prodigious and titanic activity devoted to the well-being and happiness of the Romanian nation and to the triumph of the ideas of peace, detente, cooperation, and good understanding among all nations in the world.

The solemn meeting devoted to the 40th anniversary of the creation by the party of the state security bodies broadly recalled your decisive role in working out our national military doctrine and in substantiating the original concept of the state's security being the work and cause of the whole nation. Likewise, the meeting emphasized, with particular sentiments of gratitude, that under the party's direct guidance and leadership and by unflinchingly following your valuable orders, guidelines, and recommendations, the security apparatus has further increased its combat capacity and constant readiness, being inspired by an unswerving determination to firmly defend the people's revolutionary conquests and the cause of the party, socialism, and communism in Romania.

We report that—in order to faultlessly carry out your orders and orientations on ceaselessly raising the activity of security organs to the level of the great quality requirements set by the new stage of our socialist revolution and construction—we must take steady steps to develop and assert a strong spirit of revolutionary vigilance and combativeness in all our cadres, by continuously improving their political, ideological, and professional training and constantly increasing their competence, responsibility, and commitment in the fulfillment of the important missions entrusted to them by the party and people.

Strongly inspired by the theses of priceless theoretical and practical value formulated by you in your brilliant speech to the 29 April 1988 meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and by the extremely mobilizing ideas of this extraordinary revolutionary program of work for the party and people, we are determined to act in a spirit of greater responsibility to improve our entire activity, by placing all our capacity and power of work in the service of exactly implementing the party-state policy, which is the result of your innovating thinking and daring activity that is totally devoted to the Romanian people's happiness and prosperity and to peace and understanding throughout the world.

By carrying out our entire activity under the leadership of the party, with the constant support of the working people, and on the durable foundation of socialist legality, we report to you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Supreme Commander, that we will resolutely act, in accordance with your orders and the people's interests, to thwart and nip in the bud any attempts against the working people's revolutionary achievements and at the state's security.

On the 40th anniversary of the creation by the party of the state security organs, we also express warmest sentiments of great esteem and high regard to Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, politician and scholar of great international renown, who is constantly making, alongside you, an important contribution to elaborating and implementing the party-state policy and to continuously developing and asserting the Romanian science, education, and culture and Socialist Romania's prestige in the world.

We assure you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Supreme Commander that, in unshakable unity with all the people around the party and its secretary general, the security organs will do their best and take resolute steps, in close cooperation with the militia and other units of the Ministry of Interior, to unflinchingly implement the party's scientific and revolutionary policy, to apply and observe the country's laws, and to exactly carry out your orders, guidelines, and recommendations.

We solemnly pledge, on this occasion, too, to spare no effort to implement the great targets established by the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP. By constantly following your bright example of heroically serving the supreme interests of the party and people, we will always be ready to do our duty and defend with our lives, if the need arises, the freedom, independence, sovereignty, and integrity of the SR of Romania.

We salute you, Comrade Supreme Commander!

The Command and Party Aktiv of the State Security Department

PRDY Leaders Greet Ceausescu

AU0209182188 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Aug 88 p 3

[Message by 'Ali Salim al-Bid, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party, and Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, to President Nicolae Ceausescu, on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania,

On your liberation day, we take particular pleasure in extending to you, and through you to the friendly Romanian people, comradely and warm congratulations as well as best wishes for your personal health and for the Romanian people's progress and prosperity, on behalf of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee, the Supreme People's Council Presidium, and ourselves personally.

We hope that the relations between our two parties, countries, and peoples will further develop.

'Ali Salim al-Bid, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party

Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas, member of the Political Bureau of the Yemeni Socialist Party and chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

Lebanese CP Leader's Message

AU0209172088 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Aug 88 p 3

[Message by George Hawi, general secretary of the Lebanese Communist Party, to President Nicolae Ceausescu, on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania,

On the National Day of the SR of Romania, I take great pleasure in extending to you, and through you, to the Romanian people warm comradely greetings and heartfelt wishes for prosperity. I take this opportunity to express high appreciation for the Romanian people's anti-fascist struggle for independence and your outstanding role in organizing this struggle.

George Hawi, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party

Morocco's Ali Yata Greeting

AU0209171988 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Aug 88 p 3

[Message by Ali Yata, general secretary of the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco, to President Nicolae Ceausescu, on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu,

We, in Morocco, rejoice in the celebration of Romania's National Day, the 44th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation.

On this occasion, we extend to you warm and heartfelt congratulations and we express the conviction that you will continue to make progress and rapidly advance along the road of socialist construction.

We also take pleasure in paying lively homage to your ceaseless personal activity to consolidate world peace.

Please accept our sentiments of fraternal friendship.

Ali Yata, general secretary of the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco

Ecuadoran CP Greets RCP

AU0209171788 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Aug 88 p 3

[Message by Rene Mauge Mosquera, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Ecuadoran Communist Party to the RCP Central Committee on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To the RCP Central Committee,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Ecuadoran Communist Party, we extend fraternal greetings to the RCP, the SR of Romania, and the Romanian people, on the 44th anniversary of their revolution.

We wish you success in the constant struggle to consolidate socialism and world peace.

The Central Committee of the Ecuadoran Communist Party

Rene Mauge Mosquera, general secretary

Leaders' Public Appearances 28 Aug-3 Sep

AU0309192588 [Editorial Report] Romania media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 28 August-3 September period (sourceline given in parentheses):

On 1 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, received Enrique Corenjo Ramirez, president of the Foreign Trade Institute of the Republic of Peru. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1244 GMT 1 Sep)

On 3 September, Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Paula Prioteasa, minister of food industry, and Alexandru Dimitriu, minister of industrial construction, received Mauritanian Foreign Minister Mohamed Lemine Ould N'Diayane. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1037 GMT 3 Sep)

On 28 August, President Nicolae Ceausescu began talks with MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz in Arad (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0653 GMT 28 Aug); gave a lunch for Grosz (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1341 GMT 28 Aug); ended talks with Grosz (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1848 GMT 28 Aug); and participated in a joint press conference with Grosz. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0130 GMT 29 Aug)

On 1 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed a meeting with the party aktiv in agriculture. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 1 Sep)

On 2 September, President Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1755 GMT 2 Sep) and received PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 2 Sep) and Mauritanian Foreign Minister Mohamed Lemine Ould N'Diayane. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1849 GMT 2 Sep)

On 29 August, Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and deputy prime minister, met with Soviet Vice Premier N.V. Talyzin and other officials in Moscow (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 29 Aug) and addressed the opening of a Romanian economic exhibition. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1952 GMT 29 Aug)

On 1 September, Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu received Syrian Irrigation Minister 'Abd al-Rahman Madani. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1508 GMT 1 Sep)

On 31 August, Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of the government, received Syrian Irrigation Minister 'Abd al-Rahman Madani. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1717 GMT 31 Aug)

On 1 September, Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, received Enrique Cornejo Ramirez, president of the Institute for Foreign Trade of the Republic of Peru. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1735 GMT 1 Sep)

Salary Problems Cause Strikes, Pay Raises

Unions Ask Income Law Rework

LD0709182988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1713 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, September 7 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's confederation of trade unions asked from the government here today to propose amendments as soon as possible to the federal law on limiting pays so as to have workers motivated to produce better.

In the confederation's assessments, this restrictive law passed last May as part of the government measures for economic recovery is the chief cause of a drastic fall in earnings in Yugoslavia and a more and more critical material situation of the overwhelming part of Yugoslav workers.

The confederation's presidency asked from the federal parliament to obligate the federal government to make up a program for setting aside less money in contribution from enterprises' and workers' earnings and a national saving program.

In the opinion of the confederation's leadership, it is necessary to add social welfare measures to the outline of economic reform. The system of linear compensations is not an adequate solution since it does not help enough the most affected people, it was evaluated.

Therefore, it was proposed that Yugoslavia's constituent republics and provinces fix a bottom limit for an average family's all-in income as the basic criterium for compensations. Means for this purpose must not be provided by way of further burdening the national economy, it was emphasized.

Kragujevac Enterprise Pay Hike

LD0509162588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1410 GMT 5 Sep 88

[Summary] Kragujevac, 5 Sep (TANJUG)—The management organs of the Filip Kljajic enterprise in Kragujevac today decided to pay the employees' money that has been returned from the republican community for pensions and disability, insurance and to increase the remuneration point by 23 percent. This decision was made after a strike by some 800 employees last Friday.

Bosanski Petrovac Teachers Strike

LD0809191388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1702 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Summary] Bosanski Petrovac, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—Teachers and other staff members at the Djuro Pucar Stari primary school in Bosanski Petrovac today decided to end their strike without having their pay demands met so that their pupils would not suffer. Following the introduction of intervention measures, the teachers received reduced personal incomes in June and July, and the difference was not met in August either. Average earnings are now reduced to 150,000 dinars.

Sarajevo Postal Strike

LD0809202988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1845 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—After their 2-day strike postal workers in the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina set off this morning with overflowing bags to deliver mail in the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

They are seeking a 100-percent increase in personal incomes. If they do not receive this they say they will go on strike again in 5 days.

Zrenjanin Court Officials Strike

LD0809191488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1814 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Summary] Zrenjanin, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—Zrenjanin municipal court officials have now been on strike for 3 days seeking a 50-percent pay increase. They have been offered a 15-percent rise.

Economic Results for Jan-Jun 88 Reported

AU0709184388 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 88 p 7

[S.V. report: "Large Drop in Real Earnings"]

[Text] Economic and financial developments in the first half of this year were "sufficiently unfavorable."

This was the first comment by Momcilo Tomic, deputy general director of the Yugoslav Social Accountancy Service, with which yesterday's press conference began. He immediately declared that positive developments had been achieved in certain sections of the economy, although the targets of the resolution had not been entirely met.

Talking of unfavorable economic trends, Tomic particularly had in mind the decrease in the physical volume of production (1.7 percent in the first 6 months as a whole, and 1.8 percent at the end of July), which also, of course, meant a drop in productivity. Trade turnover has also fallen. The rise in stocks, taken as a whole, is somewhat less pronounced, but, although the stocks of finished products have increased, the reserves of raw materials and materials used in production have fallen.

On the other hand, results in foreign trade have been more satisfactory than expected, when the balance of imports and exports alone is considered. The value of exports increased by 16 percent in the first 6 months of this year, while, because imports have in fact fallen, instead of rising as planned, 99 percent of imports are now covered by exports.

Under conditions of high inflation, the financial results of business make great leaps in nominal terms. Gross income has increased by 156.2 percent in comparison with the first 6 months of last year. The rise in expended funds was somewhat milder at 155.2 percent, but Tomic declared that this is not a result of the more economical conduct of business, but was primarily a result of our price race, in which our manufacturers again took the lead.

Income also recorded a high increase of 158.9 percent. Although distributed income increased by somewhat less, or by 159 percent, [figure as published] it exceeded earned income by more than 1,800 billion dinars. Tomic especially warned of the consequences of continuing to spend income we have not earned.

Despite all promises to unburden the economy, the share of its income retained by the economy continued to fall, from 56.4 percent in the first half of last year to 51.6 percent in the same period this year. The relative share of income allocated for public spending increased again by 2.1 percent, and the share for communal spending by 1.2 percent.

Personal incomes in real terms fell by 8.4 percent in the first 6 months of this year. This is the largest fall recorded since 1984. Nevertheless, relations in the distribution of net income were still more unsatisfactory. Of course, accumulation has suffered, and has increased by 111.7 percent. Personal incomes have also suffered, because the share of net income allocated for gross personal incomes increased by 155.1 percent, but this increase, as Tomic explained, is a result of a relative increase in contributions.

Net personal incomes per worker amounted to 307,364 dinars and rose by 138.3 percent compared with the first 6 months of last year.

Finally, among the many financial indicators of business performance in the first 6 months of this year let us mention only the losses. These exceeded 2,793 billion dinars and are 132 percent greater than those of the same period last year. Every ninth organization in the economy, or 2,987 basic organizations of associated labor, is running at a loss. About 36 percent of all these losses are concentrated in oil refining, and in the ferrous metal, chemical, and food industries.

Serbian Commission Discusses Economy

LD0809121088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1736 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 7 Sep (TANJUG)—The commission for the Economic Reform Issues of the Presidency of the Serbian SR today considered and assessed current economic situation. The session was presided over by Slobodan Milosevic. The figures on current economic trends indicate that a number of negative tendencies have not been halted, except the positive results in foreign trade. There is a great discrepancy between the plan and the actual state of affairs. Inflation continues to rise, production is not growing. The income distribution ratio has deteriorated, illiquidity is rising, and the living standard is falling.

The commission has noted, however, that in contrast with unfavorable tendencies at the level of the country, the Serbian economy has made a positive contribution in a number of important sectors, thus improving the country's overall economic performance.

Industrial production in Serbia is rising, thus ensuring that the decline in the country's industrial production is not so big. At the same time lower-than-average inflation rate in Serbia is a factor slowing down galloping inflation in the country. There has also been a slow-down in the fall in real personal incomes in the republic. By increasing depreciation funds, the republic has maintained its economy's expansion capacity. Positive results have been achieved mainly by using internal reserves and available capacities and resources. [passage omitted]

3,000 Attend Protest Meeting in Kosovo

LD0809183588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1618 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Vucitrn, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—In connection with the recent vandalist attack by four Albanians on the house of an unprotected old woman, Jevrosima Kosanovic, and her daughter (?Blagica) in Vucitrn, a protest meeting began in this place in Kosovo this afternoon at which 3,000 inhabitants of Vucitrn, Zvecan, Mitrovica, Leposavic, Milosevo, and Priluzje gathered and at which, apart from the shouting of "A United Serbia," "One Constitution," "Down with the Traitors," and suchlike, a demand was made for the responsibility of Bosko Krunic, Petar Matic, Kolj Siroka, and Azem Vlasi to be established. [passage omitted]

'Dissatisfaction' on Postponed Matic Debate

LD0809225588 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1950 GMT 8 Sep 88

[By Gordan Ranitovic]

[Text] Belgrade, September 8 (TANJUG)—A surge of dissatisfaction came after last night's session of the Yugoslav veterans' organisation which decided to postpone a debate on requests to dismiss its president Petar Matic.

The dissatisfaction with the decision was aimed at Matic and "those backing him".

Veterans from many parts of Yugoslavia reacted fiercely, especially in Serbia where the dismissal request originated.

The request was made over Matic's autonomistic stand towards consitutional changes in the republic which is favorable to Albanian chauvinists.

The veterans said that by not dismissing Matic a blow had been dealt to the organisation's unity and was a continuation of the policy of compromise and opportunism.

It seemed understandable at first that the veterans' organisation presidency decided to postpone the debate on Matic's political fate, simply so that it could receive the report and decision of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee.

The LCY Central Committee is to establish the responsiblity of its members including Matic, who participated in an "unprincipled polemic".

Different reactions to the decision were voiced by observers today.

The organisers of the numerous rallies of solidarity with Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins over the past month announced new protests throughout Yugoslavia. They even changed yesterday's decision on not organising rallies in Bosnia and Hercegovina Republic until the coming LCY Central Committee session.

The Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins said they would organise protest rallies in Sarajevo, Jajce and many other places in the republic on September 17.

Mass protests have been announced in many places in Serbia and its Autonomous Province of Vojvodina over the contimuing of the opportunist policy.

The country's party and state leadership must clearly count on a new factor when taking steps—extremelly politicised masses, [words indistinct] and its provinces.

Clearly, there are a lot of [word indistinct] which could lead to the wrong track at the rallies and the country's leadership must take more heed of the current social trends and adjust to them.

In this explosive situation in the country even the smallest error could result in much greater consequences.

Markovic Says Serbian Leaders 'Stoking Passions'
LD0809203188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1813 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Belgrade, September 8 (TANJUG)—Former prominent Yugoslav leader Dragoslav Markovic today accused top officials of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia of stoking passions and "nationalistic feelings" among the people during the current heated dicussions on constitutional changes and the situation in the province of Kosovo.

In a lengthy letter to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), Markovic assessed that this could prove to be extremely dangerous and lead to a situation of tense internationality relations and a serious social crisis which could be resolved only by way of a state coup or a civil war.

Dragoslav Markovic, who held many top posts in the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia over the past several decades, at the same time assessed that certain individuals in the Serbian leadership were manipulating the serious position of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo in order to create a special atmosphere and force the implementation of special measures in the country.

Markovic explained that he had decided to address the country's top party leadership because with other Serbian politicians in the sixties and seventies, about the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo in order to keep his high-ranking post.

Markovic accuses current Serbian party leader Slobodan Milosevic of launching such accusations against the former Serbian leadership early this July.

Dragoslav Markovic rejects the accusations that he had made concessions to Albanian nationalism and shown no solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo. He demands that the top LCY leadership take a stand on the issue or establish a commission to investigate such accusations against him.

If the accusations are proved true, Markovic has announced that he will resign from the LCY. If, on the other hand, they are proved unfounded, Markovic will demand that Slobodan Milosevic bear full moral and political responsibility for having voiced them.

In order to have fuller insight into the situation in Serbia, one should bear in mind that Dragoslav Markovic in 1986 opposed the election of Slobodan Milosevic to the position of president of the Serbian Republican League of Communists Central Committee, but was in the minority and soon left the political stage.

Markovic now accuses Milosevic of being power-hungry and of wanting to remove all those who think differently from him.

Markovic interprets the present attacks against him as the wish of Serbia's current party leadership to demonstrate that its coming to power marked the beginning of all that is good and progressive.

Singling out Milosevic, Markovic claims that there has never been such a stong monopoly of the leadership over the press in Serbia, nor such a lack of democracy in the cadre policy.

Closing his letter, Markovic claims says [as received] he wrote it not only in order to "protect his personal integrity," but to encourage all those who disagree with the "unisonance" which has been prevalent in Serbia in the past year.

Milosevic Addresses Serbian Bodies on Struggle

LD0809135588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1002 GMT 6 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, in a closing speech at a joint session of the Presidency of the Serbian SR and the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee which ended early this morning said: The solidarity meetings with the struggle of Serbs and Monetenegrins against the counterrevolution in Kosovo have been taking place for the last 2 months. They have demonstrated large- scale, unanimous, genuine readiness and determination on the part of the great number of citizens—members of all our nations and nationalities—to help to make the position of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins equal to that of the majority population in the province, which today consists of Albanians. The topical political-security situation in Kosovo was discussed.

Milosevic stressed, however, that besides being an expression of solidarity with the citizens whose lives and livelihood are in danger, these meetings also express dissatisfaction with the fact that the state, political, and other competent institutions and organizations, and above all their leaderships, have failed to promptly take the necessary measures to nip the counterrevolution in the bud and have thus contributed to its escalation.

Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo as well as all progressive people in Serbia and the entire country have displayed a great amount of patience, unprecedented in the present-day civilized, democratic, and urban Europe, with the inefficiency of their state and the inability of their representatives in state organs to protect them. Nowhere in Europe are women raped and children and the elderly humiliated for nationalist reasons—at least not on a large and organized scale.

This summer their patience ran out. Just over a year ago, at the 9th session of the LCY Central Committee which was devoted to Kosovo, tasks were set out aimed at halting counterrevolution and eliminating its effects.

A year later, i.e. in July of this year at the LCY Central Committee plenum which discussed the implementation of those tasks, it was assessed that the tasks had not been carried out. However, no institution, organization, or individual was called to account. This was witnessed by all those who watched the sessiion on television, Milosevic underlined. And, is there anything more logical and, he added, more honest than for the citizens and especially for the communists to express their dissatisfaction at the absence of any results and responsibility and to name the institutions, organizations, and individuals who took on the tasks but failed to carry them out?

This is a democratic and honest reaction which was to be expected. The tasks which these institutions, organizations, and individuals took on but failed to carry out will have to be fulfilled but, obviously, by somebody else. These are the game rules valid in bourgeois democracy which we scorn, often quite unjustifiably, as being an inferior form of democracy, Milosevic stressed. [passage omitted]

It seems that our citizens have decided not to keep silent and suffer any longer. They will not put up with sanctions not because they lack resilience but because throughout their history they have endured enough beatings and will no longer allow themselves to be beaten and humiliated. Statements containing negative assessments of the meetings, rallies, and mass gatherings therefore sound quite incredible.

For, until recently these same leaderships espoused the people, democracy, freedom of expression, and openness. And now we have it all: the people, democracy, freely expressed opinions, and openness. Suddenly these are judged as being negative and dangerous developments which whould be ended as soon as possible. They should end, of course, but this should be done by liquidating counterrevolution and terror of the Serbs ar ! Montenegrins and not by ordering the victims of violance to keep quiet and put up with the terror. [passage omitted]

The masses can, of course, also be proponents of conservative ideas, intolerance, and hatred towards other nations and people. Unfortunately, history has recorded such conduct and reaction by the masses. This, however, is not such a case. For, as we all know, in Serbia today there is not a single town or locality where people are discriminated against for not being Serbs. Everyone is aware of this. Therefore, I plead with all those who are concerned over the alleged Serbian, nationalist "maspok" [mass movement; allusion to nationalist mass movement in Croatia in early 70's] above all those who in 1971 made lists and counted heads, to point their finger to any such or similar case, to anyone who suffers in Serbia for not being a Serb. In fact, we in Serbia are proud of the fact that those who are not of Serbian nationality have never been denied a thing. However, the Serbs in Serbia and the Montenegrins in Kosovo have indeed faced denials. Such a state of affairs must stop immediately. As stated at the meeting in Crvenka, the only acceptable deadline is now. [passage omitted]

Albanians have had a difficult time throughout history. They have long lived in poverty and their life today is quite difficult. The majority of Albanians in Kosovo are deperate about the terror perpetrated by their chauvinist fellow-nationals against the members and even children of another nationality which in this part of Serbia is in minority and, for the time being, unprotected. However, we want to stress over and over again that we shall not allow any injustice to be committed against the Albanian people, that there is no hatred and that only with help from the Albanians can we win the battle against counterrevolution. Communists, the working people and citizens of Serbia know that revenge against the Albanian population and Albanian children is not an answer to the

pressures and persecution by Albanian chauvinists. It is the chauvinists and nationalists among the Albanian people, as among any other nation, which must be denounced. The citizens of Serbia need no lessons from anyone about this.

Slovenia Hesitates over Kosovo Protest Rallies

LD0709181788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1615 GMT 7 Sep 88

[Text] Ljubljana, September 7 (TANJUG)—The Slovenian party leadership (Yugoslavia's most developed republic) has not yet voiced a decisive stand on rallies of solidarity with Serbs and Montenegrins from the Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The rallies were recently organized in numerous towns across the country because of brutal attacks by Albanian chauvinists and separatists against the non-Albanian population of Kosovo.

A statement from the September 1 session of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) published today, says that "rallies as a form of expressing dissatisfaction, cannot be banned as long as they remain within the boundaries of the Constitution and law while their causes are neglected."

The statement said that it is necessary to assess the ideological and political starting points of these rallies and if they are only a form of manipulating people.

Heated debates on the character of the rallies are currently under way in Yugoslavia.

While some think that they only further deepen national conflicts, others stress that in a situation where legal institutions are inefficient, rallies are the only way of "forcing" the country's political factors and executive bodies of authority to solve the Kosovo problem.

Explaining some of its reservations on the holding of a solidarity rally in Ljubljana at the demand of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, Slovenia's party leadership said it was not a question of fear at being faced with the seriousness of Kosovo' realities or an unpreparedness to take on part of the responsibilities at overcoming them, but that it was a question of thinking out ways of finding efficient political solutions to the Kosovo drama, and not those which would lead to a deepening of the crisis.

The Slovenian party presidency assessed that it was necessary to inform the Slovenian public more comprehensively of the situation in Kosovo because it is often underestimated and wrongly interpreted in Slovenia.

'Solidarity' Meetings Set for 17 Sep

LD0809185088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 8 Sep 88

[Text] Pristina, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—The organizing committee for the departure of Serbs and Montenegrins to solidarity meetings outside Kosovo, today decided to hold solidarity meetings in Jajce, Sarajevo, Sipovo, and other places in Bosnia-Hercegovina on Saturday 17 September this year.

The explanation for this decision, the committee says, is that after yesterday's SUBNOR [Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia] presidium meeting, which, it is asserted, again confirmed the inefficiency of the confederative system, there was large-scale alarm among citizens, especially Serbs and Montenegrins. Their suspicions that the next LCY Central Committee session will not resolve the Kosovo drama, were strengthened. Strong criticism, it was stressed, was also aimed at the organizing committee for the departure of Serbs and Montenegrins to solidarity meetings outside Kosovo, because it accepted the decision of the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and postponed the departure of people from Kosovo to Jajce. Immediately after the end of the SUBNOR presidium meeting, it adds, and after the opportunist behavior of Petar Matic and the decision to postpone the debate about his responsibility, tens of Serbs and Montenegrins from throughout Kosovo gathered outside the Aco Marovic primary school in Kosovo Polje and demanded the replacement of, and the establishment of the responsibility of, the committee for departure to solidarity meetings outside Kosovo, as they believed that it had made a mistake in postponing the journey to Jajce. This is given weight by the fact that the committee receives from Bosnia-Hercegovina hundreds of calls from veterans, working people, youths and citizens, members of all nations, especially from citizens of the Muslim nation, who feel insulted by the claims that there will be a gathering in this republic on a single nation basis.

In addition to this explanation, it is reported that the committee will send a delegation of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to the 18 September solidarity meeting in Niksic. The committee also accepted the call by citizens in the municipality of Medvedja for Kosovo people to attend a solidarity meeting to be held there on Saturday 10 September at 1200. The sociopolitical structures and citizens of Lebane express readiness to organize such a meeting. After the meeting the people from Kosovo will return via Lebane.

The committee supported the numerous demands by Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo that at the end of September, unless there is a significant turnabout at the 17th LCY Central Comittee session and the replacement of all those leaders whose names have been called out, there would be collective emigration. The Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo would then go to Belgrade, and remain there. They would leave their houses and

property and jobs for society to dispose with, says the memorandum of the organizing committee. It was released to representatives of the information media.

BORBA on Kosovo Serbs, Montenegrins Body
AU0109141288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20-21 Aug 88 p 5

[Milos Antic report: "Official Silence, Street Corner Assessments"]

[Text] In addition to all legal organs and structures of this society which work with varying success, the Organizational Committee for the Preparation of Kosovo People's Attendance at Protest Meetings and Rallies Outside the Province was active in the turbulent political arena of Kosovo during July and particularly during August this year.

This Committee, which was set up at a meeting of the first [SAWP] branch of the 16th Kosovo Polje local community on 24 June, on the very day when the first conference of the LC of Kosovo was held, was to organize and lead the Kosovo-Metohija Serbs and Montenegrins to the protest meeting in Novi Sad and to the Kosovo people's gathering in Belgrade during the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee.

Nobody among the observers and those who voted for the committee, except probably its initiators Miroslav Solevic and Miodrag Samardzic, could imagine that the committee would grow into a peculiar political organ that acts as an alternative to certain legal organs and bodies not only in Kosovo Polje where its center is, but also beyond, in Kosovo in general.

Alternative Political Organ [subhead]

During the 2 short months that the committee has been in existence and acting, it in many ways has exceeded its name and the tasks assigned to it for the first time at a legal SAWP meeting. Up to now it has organized the attendance of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins at protest meetings outside the province on several occasions, and on some occasions it assumed the right to appoint a delegation to represent the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins at these meetings. It has also happened that the committee once dissociated itself from those Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins that did not obey it but went to a place where the committee considered that the masses should not go.

One of the biggest steps of this committee was the preparation of the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, and others besides, to march in Belgrade for the 16th LCY Central Committee session. Considering the grave situation and the threats to the Serbs and Montenegrins, this job was easily and quickly accomplished in Kosovo. A large number of Kosovo people, perhaps more than 20,000, prepared for the journey. The committee considered that this would not be sufficient, and it urged—by personal visits, letters, and telegrams, as well as telephone calls—workers of many collectives in the SR of Serbia to march in Belgrade. A meeting of at least 50,000 people was expected. Mico Sparavalo, president of the committee, has told BORBA about it in detail.

And then it happened that the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia requested everybody to refrain from the march in Belgrade. The Organizational Committee in Kosovo Polje reacted quickly, which is to say the same night. It asked the Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, as well as those from the SR of Serbia, not to go to Belgrade, "because after the announcement by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, there was no need to."

That evening, on 27 July, when the members of the committee adopted the decision, something happened that will probably be called by its proper name only in subsequent detailed political and other analyses. Until then, and afterwards, no political organ in Kosovo Polje, in the Pristina commune, in Kosovo, and beyond, has acknowledged or disputed the legitimacy of the committee, at least not publicly and officially. Some opinions could be heard only in unofficial circles; some people said that "it is an informal and therefore completely illegal body to which one should not attach much importance because it will fall apart soon," while others warned that "the committee is growing into something unplanned, a mini-leadership of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, which enjoys certain support."

Official Recognition of the Committee [subhead]

Since immediately before the 16th LCY Central Committee session it was more than obvious that the committee is pulling the strings in a very skillful and self-determined way; top people of the Kosovo Polje district, Pristina Communal LC Committee, and Working Group of the Serbian LC Central Committee sat together with the committee members on 27 July. A section of the public interpreted that as public recognition of the committee.

Already at its first meeting held in Kosovo Polje after the 16th LCY Central Committee session, the legitimacy of the committee was extended and it was given the task of taking over the organization of any visits Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins make outside the province. This support which was extended to it at every meeting was always unanimous, except on two occasions when Slavko Cumic, one of the Kosovo Polje people who has probably attended the largest number of rallies and meetings, was discontented with the committee's work, that is, its "puritanical behavior," "vacillation," and "calling off several mass marches," and demanded that this committee should be dissolved and another one elected, because "we do have more capable and courageous people," who "will not come under any influence." He was, of course, booed and both times remained completely alone.

In the meantime, the committee "did its job": It contacted members of sociopolitical set-up in those towns outside Kosovo in which protest rallies and meetings were to be organized, discussed the time of the meetings, who from Kosovo will attend them, who will speak, and the like. It sent letters and telegrams to certain leaderships and bodies. In a word, when visits of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins are concerned, the committee pulled all the strings.

The committee, let us recall, recently had its first public action in the field. After 22 Serbian households in Prekale, near Istok, announced collective emigration and officials of the Istok commune could not do anything, members of the committee went to the village in the evening of 16 August, gathered the villagers, talked to them and persuaded them that they should give up their collective emigration for the time being, "until one sees what the situation is."

Activity in the Field [subhead]

This move, as well as their public meeting in the Ribnjak Motel in Istok at which they announced their answer to the Titograd political organizations about the organization of the big national rally in the Montenegrin capital on 20 August, has posed the following question: What and whom does this committee really represent?

All official sources keep silent about this in public. However, a lot can be heard "in the background." For some people, the committee is "the leadership of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo." For the others it is "an informal group which imposes itself and in doing so does not shrink from any means." For the third group, "the Committee is only what the people have determined it to be." Let us not list everything that is being said on street corners and unofficially by people who should speak out officially. We shall only say one more thing and that is that a large number of people in Kosovo, above all Albanian nationals, "consider the committee to be a group of nationalists, careerists, and petty politickers who want to grab power at all costs."

Time, and maybe Kosovo events themselves, will show what this is really all about. BORBA informs the public about the platform that the committee advocates at present and which was presented by committee president Mico Sparavalo at the recent veterans' meeting in Urosevac. This platform was supplemented by several thoughts expressed by committee members.

One should also say that the committee consists of six members: Mico Sparavalo from Urosevac, president; Stevan Marinkovic from Kosovo Polje, vice president; and members Miroslav Solevic and Migo Samardzic from Kosovo Polje, Milic Maslovaric from Istok, and Momcilo Pumpalovic from Klina.

What could be seen so far is that the committee does not work on its own initiative but in cooperation with many SAWP and LC activists in local communities, particularly the ones with Serb and Montenegrin population. As can be seen, all those so-called leaders who were hauled on the carpet this spring because of their ideopolitical responsibility for nationalism and destructive activity did not join the committee. After a resolute action by Kosovo Polje communists they were freed from party responsibility. They are now actively cooperating with the committee and participate in all its activities.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Mico Sparavalo—What the Committee's Platform Consists of: Treacherous Conduct of the Leadership [subhead]

Mico Sparavalo, president of the committee, spoke at the meeting of the two Veterans' branches in Urosevac at the beginning of this week. Speaking in the village of Prekale the day after, he and Miroslav Solevic said and underlined that "what Sparavalo presented in Urosevac is the committee's platform on which the committee will stand in the coming period and at all the meetings its delegations will attend."

Here is the essence of Mico Sparavalo's speech, which is to say, the committee's platform:

"Just as the ones preceeding it, the latest, 16th session of the LCY Central Committee does not guarantee that anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav forces in Kosovo will be defeated and peace, order, equality, and legality will be established in Kosovo. Unfortunately, the unpleasant truth that there is no unity in the Yugoslav leadership is being confirmed every day. The leadership expresses its inability and lack of readiness to resolutely start solving problems which would show our society the way out of political and economic crisis. Disunity and lack of readiness on the part of the state and the LCY to undertake proper, efficient, and radical measures in curbing the counterrevolution carried out by Albanian separatists and chauvinists in Kosovo are particularly obvious. The same assessment and same stances have been repeated for 7 and ½ years, the same measures have been discussed, and the situation in Kosovo has been getting worse all the time. It is not only that ideopolitical differentiation has not been carried out and the Kosovo LC not been made more capable, but, unfortunately for all peoples and nationalities in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia, it is national differentiation which has been getting deeper and deeper and leading closer and closer to national confrontation. This is why it is so unconvincing, funny, but also sad when some Yugoslav leaders in their speeches describe the situation in Kosovo in a very good way, when in words they most harshly denounce the counterrevolutionary, anti-Serbian, and anti-Yugoslav activity of Albanian separatists and chauvinists, but immediately afterwards say that we should strive very resolutely on a self-managing and democratic basis

and with direct expert help with a view to overcoming such an unbearable situation in Kosovo. They also say that any other undemocratic and anti-self-managing activity against counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo is unacceptable. What an irony and utopia that is....

"As far as I know, no counterrevolution in the world has ever been defeated and crushed with appeals, conclusions, and speeches, but with means appropriate to a struggle against an enemy who threatens the constitutional set-up, freedom, peace, and equality of the peoples living in that country. What is involved here is an enemy who has infiltrated the organs of our party and state and who will use all possible means with a view to destroying the freedom for which our blood was shed....

"The question is asked why these leaders of ours with their utopian, nonrevolutionary, opportunist, and ultimately anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav hostile activity maintain this situation which is neither war nor peace, a situation, that is, which is fatal not only to us in Kosovo—the endangered Serbs and Montenegrins—but to Albanians themselves, the SR of Serbia, and the SFRY. Do they not feel and see that their opportunist and ultimately treacherous behavior makes us to take up the cudgels and resume our struggle to defend the freedom for which our blood was shed and which we are now losing in 'freedom'? Do they not see that, be it consciously or unconscicusly, they are leading this country of ours into disaster, and that is the betrayal of the achievements of socialist revolution, betrayal of the ideals of Yugoslav brotherhood and unity and patriotism.

"I am deeply convinced that the LC of Kosovo is neither capable of coming to grips with counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo nor united or ready for such a thing. It has fallen apart and the LC organization does not exist as an ideological force. State and public security organs, organized as they are now and with the cadres they have now, are neither ready nor able to perform tasks that society has set to them and expects them to perform. This also applies to the legislative organs in Kosovo...."

RILINDJA on Kosovo Polje 'Council'

AU0709164888 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 3 Sep 88 p 7

[Blerim Reka commentary: "Together—No Alternative"]

[Text] A month after the 16th LCY Central Committee plenum, which is well-known to have been a powerful stimulus for tangible action and mobilization on the part of the LC in Kosovo, Serbia, and throughout the country toward stabilizing the situation in the province and a call for a radical and positive turning-point in the development of the political situation in our province, the LCY Central Committee Presidium once again made the implementation, (non)observance, and (non)realization of this plenum's conclusions a topical issue. At the same time, attention was drawn to the further deterioration of the political and security situation and the need for a realistic assessment of the situation in Kosovo. The present political and security situation in the country and the province is showing signs of further worsening because of the activity of Albanian nationalism, the continuing emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, the further cooling of intranational relations, the deterioration of social problems, the organization of single-nationality gatherings, the activity of Serbian nationalism, and so forth.

The fact is that certain tendencies and currents of thought hitherto unknown in Yugoslav political life, such as flagrant disregard for the conclusions of the highest party and state bodies, are hampering and encumbering the determined action of progressive forces headed by the LC in stabilizing the Kosovo situation. These tendencies have transformed themselves into open opposition to prescribed LCY policy, disregard for democratic centralism—that primary principle in party relations—and have gone as far as unprecedented attacks on the fruits of our revolution and the personality of Comrade Tito.

Under such circumstances, we have witnessed this summer a process of ever greater politicization; it is not by chance that this has taken place in the wake of meetings of the highest party bodies, the LCY Conference, and the 16th LCY plenum on Kosovo. Nor was there any lack of such winds and currents before these high-level party meetings. Even though the most recent LCY plenum rightly drew attention to the danger of further single-nationality protest gatherings, rallies, and other demonstrations outside the framework of our social organizations, and although the same appeal was issued by the SFRY Presidency, such gatherings have not only not been stopped but, as is shown by that announced to take place in Smederevo today, have become more frequent, in disregard of party standpoints. In all this mosaic of social disorder, one of the initiators of a political platform active outside the LCY is the so-called "Council for the Organization of Serbian and Montenegrin Protest Gatherings" from Kosovo Polje, which has recently been increasingly setting itself up as a parallel authority to the legal organs of Kosovo, and not to them alone. With their main leitmotiv, that they are organizing the gatherings "to tell the truth about Kosovo directly to the people of Yugoslavia," this self-appointed council goes even further, broadcasting its "own political program" for solving the problems of Kosovo and even of the country as a whole.

However, the way in which this truth is told in gatherings in different parts of the country has often stepped outside the framework of the system, giving scope for antisocialist, anti-self-management, and nationalist forces to gain access to the now electric political atmosphere.

In this way, alongside citizens' genuine problems and reasonable grievances, for whose solution full solidarity has been given, the most various and unacceptable slogans are present, down to the most extreme, such as "We Want Weapons!," "Down With the Provinces!," "Down With the 1974 Constitution!," and so forth.

Distinguished leaders at all levels, from the communes, the provinces, and the federation, are insulted and abused without evidence. Such bellicose and fratricidal demands cause anxiety and uncertainty—What is happening? What will happen tomorrow?

In this way, the impression is created that no political body or forum in Kosovo, Serbia, or the country as a whole ever assessed the political situation, that no clear political stands on the Kosovo situation ever existed, that there was no determined action to improve the situation, and that all the legal structures of the state in Kosovo did nothing until this self-appointed council from Kosovo Polje turned up! Is there really anything that is now not known about Kosovo, even though the portrayal of the province's political mosaic has often in recent years been subject to non-objective, tendentious, and manipulative reporting? Why ignore the fact that an all-Yugoslav consensus was reached, according to which Kosovo is a problem of the entire country, and that stabilizing the political situation, combatting Albanian and other forms of nationalism, preventing the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, and guaranteeing the safety of their persons and property, are important tasks involving us all? What else do the members of this organizing council want to say at their protest gatherings, or what else can they say, and why is there all this manipulation of the idea that they speak "in the name of the people?" It seems to have been forgotten that the notion of the people is a more complex one, cannot be reduced to the members of one or two national groups, and that key political issues in the country demand consultation and the collective opinion of all the peoples and nationalities. Such a highly important political fact is being ignored on purpose, and there are plays on words, as if a desire were present to achieve a political aim—creating a specific atmosphere before and during the public debate on the constitutional changes.

It must be accepted that this no longer is, and cannot be called, a "spontaneous expression of the people's discontent," but that it is an exceptionally dangerous political game that merely manipulates the people's real problems and dissatisfaction for the specific and well-known purposes of certain individuals.

It is clear that no legal political or state mechanism in Kosovo stands behind this council, for the Kosovo SAWP Presidium has several times before now not merely dissociated itself from its activities, but has stated the fact that it has no connection of any kind with the self-appointed council.

In realizing the plenum conclusions on Kosovo, many tasks and much intensive labor remain before organized socialist forces in Kosovo with the LC at their head; similarly, we must continue to concretely and comprehensively carry out the immediate tasks stemming from the all-Yugoslav program for Kosovo. Every delay in solving problems, every feeling of insecurity or violation of the freedom and rights of citizens in general, and especially Serbs and Montenegrins, gives rise to discontent. Thus, the causes and sources of this discontent, which the organizational council is using for its own ends, must be eliminated.

Everyone must be clear in their minds that Yugoslavia is a state under the rule of law, with institutional and legal authority constituted and organized on the basis of the Constitution and the law. It is a state in which the legal order and the normal functioning of the system's institutions and of political life must be respected. Otherwise, tolerating such free activity on the streets and the operation of a parallel source of power and a political counterpart to the LCY that preaches "democracy," and yet rejects a priori any different opinion put forward by anyone else as undemocratic, could lead to real social anarchy.

Closing or averting our eyes to such a real political fact, under such tense political circumstances, could have unforeseen consequences for the future destiny of our multinational community; this was also the conclusion of the last meeting of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. We have no alternative to joint commitment to eliminate every source of dissatisfaction and every threat to the safety of persons and property, and to solve all the genuine problems in every locality of Kosovo within the framework of the system's institutions.

Kosovo Press Reports Kumanovo Protest

AU0509175888 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 30 Aug 88 p 2

[T. Neziri, B. Kabashi report: "Mother Tongue—Also at High School"]

[Text] A meeting of about 300 local Albanian parents was held today [29 Aug] in the hall of the Kumanovo LC Communal Committee. At the same time, a protest gathering, in which about 1,500 people of Albanian nationality took part, also took place, beginning at about 1900, and continuing until 1530, when the meeting ended. There were also about 1,000 passive onlookers.

The issue of Albanian-language instruction in Kumanovo has long been a problem. A few days ago, about 130 parents and children assembled in front of the LC Communal Committee, and demanded that the instruction of Albanian pupils should be carried out in Albanian, as was the case for for many years, and not as since 1987, when so-called mixed classes were formed in which instruction is carried out solely in Macedonian.

We Have the Staff [Subhead]

The parents' gathering, which we were told was organized following a call by nine parents from villages and local communities, was chaired by Dragisa Atanasovski, chairman of the Communal Assembly. Spase Makaroski, from the Republican Committee for Education, Science,

Culture, and Physical Training, and Nase Tosevski, secretary to the Republican Committee for Employment in Education, also took part.

From the start, parents demanded an explanation of why Savo Kimovski, president of the Macedonian Republican Committee for Education, Science, Culture, and Physical Training, had not come to the meeting. In an explanation, they were told that he is on annual vacation.

Before the start of the meeting, which began 20 minutes late, two or three young people who had sustained injuries during the intervention of the security forces were brought into the hall. It was said that they had tried to enter the hall in which the meeting was to be held. For a moment, the majority of those in the hall wanted to abandon the meeting as a sign of protest, but after a few minutes they were persuaded to remain, and those that had left the hall returned.

Virtually every speaker stressed that Albanian-language instruction has been carried out since the liberation, and we therefore demand that this constitutionally-guaranteed right should be returned to us. We are in favor of the complete equality of peoples and nationalities, deeper brotherhood and unity, and stronger togetherness, just as the LCY and Comrade Tito have taught us.

The first speaker, Qani Ramadani, from the village of Vaksinca, said that he supported the views of the young people whose voices could be heard from outside. The young people of the village are clear in their minds that their education should be in their mother tongue, as has been the case for many years, and that Albanian classes should be started again. The explanation that there are no resources for opening these classes does not hold water, because a number of pupils and professors were dismissed from their schools without any kind of grounds. We are and will remain Tito's young people. We demand nothing apart from equality: that Albanian children may study in their own language, just as Macedonian children do. Equality is the basis for strengthening brotherhood, unity, and togetherness. Xhelal Ibrahimi, from the village of Slupcan, said that it is amazing that such disinformation can be issued such as that "There are no staff for teaching in Albanian, and Albanian pupils have themselves declared their desire to study purely in Macedonian, and that Albanian be considered merely as an optional extra." I am one of the 13 teachers who have been dismissed from their schools without grounds. We complained about this to the highest authorities, including the LCY Central Committee Presidium, where we were received by Radisa Gacic, the former secretary. Although we were told that this issue would be solved by the Macedonian LC Central Committee Commission for Complaints and Petitions, there we were given the answer that we were ourselves to blame, because we had complained against instruction in Macedonian. We have never complained learning any language. Here, let us take the example of the post office: If you want to send a telegram in Albanian, they will tell you that you cannot, because they cannot understand what you have written, although you can send a telegram in French, German, English, and other languages. It is for the very reason that there are no Albanian classes that pupils from Kumanovo are enrolling in high schools in Kosovo and the SR of Serbia. This influences the cooling of intranational relations. He demanded that entrance examinations should be held for every grade between the first and the fourth, and added that protest gatherings can solve nothing.

Nijazi Zendeli said that Tito taught us to cherish equality and brotherhood and unity in our inmost hearts, and Asip Asipi said, among other things, that Albanian pupils cannot perform as well in the Macedonian language, and it is unfair for some Macedonian teachers to say to them that "You are not school material." I think that this meeting is the place where we must seek the solution of these questions. We are in favor of deepening togetherness; there are plenty of ways in which pupils can be together in sports activities and cultural programs; abolishing Albanian-language classes is unfair. Meanwhile, Isak Sinani expressed his surprise that some sociopolitical workers concurred entirely with such steps, in order to preserve their own positions. We know what a problem Kosovo is for the entire country. Must we create a second Kosovo in Macedonia? Milaim Latifi, among other things, proposed that vacancies should be announced for Albanian-speaking teachers and pupils. We know that 917 pupils finished elementary school last year, but not half of them have enrolled in high school. Aziz Hajrullahu stressed that we have not gathered here to ask for gifts, nor to attack anyone, but to ask for our rights, for our children to be educated in their mother tongue as the SFRY Constitution guarantees.

"You Are Asking For Pupils To Be Isolated" [Subhead]

Joining the discussion, Spase Makaroski said that the law on education is the same for everybody and applies to the whole of Macedonia. No speaker here wondered whether their children had learned enough Macedonian, which is a precondition for pupils to make progress. When this law was approved, delegates were present from all parts of this republic, and there is no need to announce vacancies for special staff. Do you not see what harm it does to Albanian pupils to demand Albanian classes, for which insufficient numbers of pupils have applied, although there has been activity in local communities in favor of creating Albanian classes. You are asking for pupils to be isolated. There is nothing against the law about announcing vacancies that are open to all equally. Education now should be of a standard that will prepare people for the 21st century.

Edmond Halili did not agree with Makaroski's view that mother-tongue education means isolation for the pupil. He stressed that we have nothing against learning Macedonian, but we are asking that people in mixed areas should learn each other's languages. Among other things, he stressed that of 3,500 students at Skopje University, only 1,200 are Albanians [figures as published], while more than 2,000 students from the SR of Macedonia are

studying at Pristina University. It is amazing that the enrollment of pupils and students in Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the SR of Serbia is called a nationalist act. Meanwhile, Sadullah Jakupi said that there are enough teachers and pupils for Albanian-language instruction. He was, however, surprised at the fact that able teachers are condemned and dismissed merely for asking for Albanian-language education. It has been said that a commitment will be made and, if enough teachers and pupils are found, Albanian-language classes will be started in vocational metalworking classes. But why cannot classes be started in the grammar school [gjimnaz] and other vocational high schools? The chairman interrupted this speaker, saying that there are no places in the grammar school, and there are free places in some other vocational high schools.

Todor Cuskarovski, president of the Kumanovo LC Communal Committee, said that the previous speaker had stimulated him to speak, and that you yourselves are to blame for what is happening today. Those speaking here today are self-appointed leaders and those who have been deceived. Teachers know the real situation, and yet people here want to recite speeches. The law on education applies equally to all, and those who have not enrolled may do so only where there are free places. However, a number of pupils have been misinformed. Why have no secretaries of basic LC organizations collected young people in order to tell them that this is not the way to settle issues and that they should not be taken in by some speeches delivered here. Arguing without evidence cannot be tolerated, he said. Meanwhile, Nase Taseski, among other things, said that there is no question of setting up new classes, and that all that can be considered is filling those free places that remain. None of us can change the law on education. You must commit yourselves to finding a way out so that the school year begins successfully, since meetings of this kind cannot solve the issues.

Fetah Arifi stressed that it is true that vacancy announcements are not specific, but are the same for everybody, but he demanded that classes should be opened and the problem solved if at all possible. Bajram Sylejmani, vice president of the Communal Assembly, stressed that it is difficult to find a way of opening Albanian classes under current conditions. According to him, there are some hostile elements involved in the issue of starting Albanian classes. (This remark provoked disagreement from the hall.) We must enforce the law as it stands, because neither staff nor students interested in Albanian-language teaching exist. If they apply, we will consider the possibility of starting Albanian-language classes. We, as Albanians, have achieved a great deal, and matters cannot be solved by demonstrations in front of the LC Committee. The issue should be presented in this way: Let us see if we can start Albanian-language classes, and in which vocational high school, and let us see if there are pupils who are interested.

Dragisa Atanasovski, the chairman of this meeting, interrupted the speakers several times, demanding that they should speak only about the issue of enrollment, and not about other matters. He stressed that the vacancies for staff and pupils that were announced at the republican level were the same for everybody, and did not lay down how many staff of pupils of different nationalities were required. I think that this is progress, and is a positive aspect of this announcement. Pupils of Albanian nationality did not apply in sufficient numbers to permit the creation of specialized vocational classes. You must use your influence so that we have more pupils applying for a single vocational class. There must be a teacher for every subject, and it is no good carrying on as before, when one teacher used to teach seven or eight subjects. The competition for places was held according to the law, and we cannot change the law in Kumanovo. At present, there are 322 free places for pupils in Kumanovo, 183 for technical vocations, 122 for agricultural vocations, and 12 free places in the grammar school. If you agree, we can see if we can reach a compromise and open an Albanian-language class in metalworking, and talk with teachers to find out if they can take the classes.

Even after the meeting, no decision was adopted on how to solve this question.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

The Alertness of the Security Organs [subhead]

At the end of yesterday's protest gathering of members of the Albanian nationality, when it might be said that the assembled crowds could not further restrain their accumulated rage at the indifference with which they had been treated, there would have arisen, had it not been for the security organs, the potential danger of a large-scale quarrel between members of the Albanian nationality and many citizens watching them from a distance.

"If it had been us, they would have done us over, so why don't they do them over?" some of them shouted. However, all this fortunately passed without serious consequences for the breakdown of intranational relations in this commune. For this, thanks are due to the alertness and farsightedness of the Kumanovo internal affairs authorities, who intervened properly and promptly. The protesters were dispersed without any great resistance.

Some citizens said that they want to abolish secondary education so that we will be left without education, and thus have no future in this area. [end of boxed passage]

[The following passage also appears boxed within the body of the item]

Slogans Shouted at the Gathering [Subhead]

From 1000 until 1530, when the protesters were dispersed by force by the internal affairs authorities, about 1,500 people almost uninterruptedly shouted the slogans: "We Want Our School;" "We Want Respect for

Human Rights;" "We Are Tito's, Tito Is Ours;" "Brotherhood and Unity;" "Comrade Tito, We Swear to Thee;" "We Want Our Teachers;" "We Have Staff;" "We Want Justice;" "We Have Pupils;" "Yugoslavia, Save Us;" "It Cannot Go On Like This...;" "Long Live Freedom;" "We Are Human;" "We Love Our Mother Tongue;" "Long Live the Albanian Language;" "We Want a Reply;" "We Will Go to Belgrade;" and so forth.

It is worth emphasizing that the crowd all the time demanded entry to the sports hall, so that they could give vent to all their grievances. The cries of the little schoolchildren who, together with the adults, remained in front of the building throughout the discussions, were especially touching.

The theme running through the entire gathering was the fact that the Albanians of Kumanovo do not want to abandon their genuine demand for the elementary human right to education in their mother tongue, which is guaranteed by the SFRY Constitution. Some uninvited persons attempted to enter the hall, but were prevented by the militiamen's cordon. At this point, one citizen was injured, and one fainted. [End of boxed passage]

[The following T.N.-attributed passage also appears boxed within the body of the item]

Solutions Cannot Be Found in the Streets [Subhead]

The discussion within the framework of social organizations which was held yesterday among invited representatives of Albanian pupils and parents and representatives of the sociopolitical organizations of Kumanovo Commune over the possibility of meeting demands for mother-tongue education throughout high school, instead of mixed classes purely in Macedonian, was welcome and should be greeted, because solutions to every problem and genuine demand can only be found in such a democratic and self-managing way.

However, it must immediately be stressed that the arrival of many uninvited persons and their assembly outside the LC Communal Committee building where the discussion took place did not contribute to this commitment to finding solutions. On the contrary, it only gave rise to difficulties and to harm of various kinds. This gathering of uninvited persons, which was marked by tones of emotional protest, was also unacceptable since it failed to respect the call of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium for such gatherings not to be held, and for such practices to be abandoned everywhere.

Why behave in such a way, when such things are well known? This shows for the umpteenth time that every issue can be solved, and every constitutional and civil right realized, such as the right to mother-tongue education, only by relying on the LCY platform, and only within the framework of the social organization of organized socialist forces.

Protest demonstrations on the streets, like that of the uninvited persons in Kumanovo, can only be manipulated by various destructive, antisocialist, and anti-self-management forces, and by Albanian and other forms of nationalism. And the harm that these do is well-known. The Albanian nationality themselves have experienced it—primarily as a result of the activity of Albanian nationalism.

Commentary on Single-Nationality Meetings

AU0109110088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Aug 88 p 2

[Zdravko Huber commentary: "The Traps of Single-Nationality Gatherings"]

[Text] Probably as never before, the political authorities in postwar Yugoslavia are facing the open expression of a lack of confidence in their ability to manage society. If it is any comfort, this wave of destructive criticism has not (yet) spat on the state order as a whole but in some parts of the Yugoslav territory there has been a de facto legalization of the activity of forces which offer their political program and action as an alternative to the state organs, which they believe cannot carry out their duties.

The Committee of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins, whose activity is without precedent in our socialist history so far, has undoubtedly gone farthest in this. Even a couple of months ago, we would have found it difficult to believe that such a thing is possible in "the political system of socialist self-management." Only recently, academic-political spears were being broken over the legitimacy of various original hobbyist-humanitarian movements, but now on the open stage we have an alternative organization which independently leads tens of thousands of people. The active-political strength of the Kosovo Committee is demonstrated most clearly by the meetings of support for Serbs and Montenegrins from the southern province, the likes of which are barely remembered by the younger and even middle generations of Yugoslavs, since they have been out of fashion in recent years. On other occasions as well (the announcement and abandonment of a meeting in Belgrade during the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee, the agreement in the village of Prekale on the postponement of the emigration of 22 Serbian families, and so on) the Committee has unambiguously shown itself to be a body which has an undeniable influence among Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins.

What political and social repercussions the setting up of an alternative movement of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins may have, is a question which, even before an attempt is made at an analytical answer, creates the most varied and even unpleasant suspicions. The axiom which should also not be forgotten on this occasion is that being a multinational state is our historical destiny which cannot be avoided, no matter how "impractical" and delicate it is considered. It could be difficult for the actual transition to the principle of single nationality, and even of "single people" (Serbs and Montenegrins are

two nations although from the same group of Slavic peoples) political action to achieve anything good, not even if it were provoked by a nationalist counterrevolution initiated by another "belligerent" nation and even in spite of the fact that the initial—and subsequent—expression of the dissatisfaction of Serbs and Montenegrins had the character of a totally justified and even necessary indication of the actual untenable situation in the life of the Kosovars, which the lawful institutions did not work to improve anywhere near as much as the seriousness of the situation demanded.

In practice, it is definitely not easy to say how far the legitimate expression of dissatisfaction of those who have lost confidence in the organs of authority which do not guarantee them freedom and dignity goes and where harmful and destructive political action begins which—even though it is diametrically opposed to the action that caused it—objectively leads to historical regression. This thin demarcation line is especially easy to cross when passions boil, when the participants become mixed up, and when in the same assault there are both justifiably furious people and those to whom their fury may be a welcome instrument for realizing other aims.

An objective observer of the past meetings and other mass demonstrations directed by the Kosovo Committee could in fact notice this mixture of participants, regardless of how much the protest columns seem at first to be acting in a homogeneous way and regardless of who made up the majority in them. It is not likely that the mothers of girls who have been raped and the old men who have been assaulted on buses along Kosovo roads have suddenly become so interested in the constituency of some politicians of long standing. It is even less likely that the gift for epic poetry has suddenly been awakened in them and has overflowed into some new slogans in verse. They are surely not the creators of a new image as a symbol of the grotesquely exaggerated traditional caps and bushy beards.

All these are elements in reasoning out what these mass single-nationality, that is single-people political gatherings mean and where they are leading. Once this has been said, it does not in any way mean that it has been forgotten—on the contrary—that in the conduct of Albanian separatists in Kosovo an attempt has been made at counterrevolution which leaves behind chaos in which Serbs and Montenegrins even today are the worst off. The reservations which must be stated during action organized by the Serbo-Montenegrin Committee for Kosovo, are not and should not be a denial or closing of eyes to the real drama that this population is living through. The political social-existential scenario in Kosovo is really dramatic and there is room for anxiety about its final outcome. However, it does not seem convincing that the platform of an exclusively national homogenization and the condemnation of all those who "are not with us," could lead to a final historical happy-end to this drama.

However, such a vehement wave of extra-institutional political activity, caused by the Kosovo storm that has lasted many years, is also definitely—which is perhaps even more important than the character of the gatherings—a serious test of the capacity of the "political system of socialist self-management." A little torn between its own ideological view of itself which was until recently publicly undisputed, as "the most democratic system in the world" and the increasingly frequent and reasoned criticism that it is not sufficiently subjected to democratic influence and the check of the public—as well as, of course, the global sin of the entire social crisis—the system does not have a consistent answer to what has happened to it with the public appearance of new political subjects. Should the self-organization of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins be seen as something that in fact corresponds to the system that assumes the self-managing initiative of working people and citizens: Is that a democratic criticism of the system, or an opposition which should be feared, or an enemy of the system....? One could not get a clear answer to this question from the actions of the organs of authority, the LC, and other legal political organizations.

The Committee came about at one of the Summer's gatherings of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo Polje. Up until the recent announcement of a mass gathering in Titograd, not one provincial organ had expressed an opinion on the legitimacy of this body, although there had been contact between "the officials" and "the alternatives." As we have seen, officials (mainly SAWP representatives) from the places which the Committee chose for their meetings, also contacted the Committee partly under duress and partly voluntarily. The public knows enough about the attitude to the meetings themselves: It began with the officials in Novi Sad completely ignoring everything and even went as far as a meeting organized jointly with the sociopolitical organizations of Titograd. In its short term of office, the Committee has also had contact with members of the Serbian LC Central Committee working group and even realized the stance of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium that they should not protest in Belgrade during the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee.

On the eve of the Titograd meeting, the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium issued a quite clear statement in which they made it known that it did not agree with what the Committee was doing. In the same tones from "the good old days" when directives were issued (and respected), the Pristina party committee decisively ordered its membership not to participate in single-nationality meetings, but this announcement from the Pristina sociopolitical organizations did not effect the success of the Titograd meeting. It is true that some of the senior federal officials who the participants wanted to hear, had left Titograd before the beginning of the big meeting....

It is quite certain that new meetings of solidarity with Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins will follow. With quite a lot of imagination, the Committee has been suggesting

different forms of political gathering of people throughout Yugoslavia: Some are for Vojvodina settlements with quite a few settlers from the South, others are for the Slovenes who are not so warm toward the South .... For the time being, the wave of politicization which was caused by the Kosovo storm can only spread.

The forces who continue to pretend that they are leading society would be too gallant if they were to be indecisive (and disagreeing) observers of what is happening. What is carried on the crest of the wave of the Serbian-Montenegrin resolution that the situation in Kosovo should be settled in a justified and acceptable way, must become the orientation of everyone, both in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. Some words have already been wasted, but on this occasion it is difficult not to mention the so-called front of all socialist forces—regardless of the fact that it has in fact been seriously repudiated by the development of events—as only this front can still be the proponent of authentic political action to solve the Kosovo circumstances.

As its vanguard section, the LCY has also given itself the aim: Either it (the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, as early as next week, and the LCY Central Committee in September) will have the powers to say what is what and that everything that happened in the Summer should be assessed thoroughly, responsibly, and politically, or what usually happens in such cases will happen, the authority of the LCY leadership which has in any case thinned out, will be lost in the dust of single-nationality or other marches.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidium To Prevent Protests

LD0309105088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1726 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—The outright rejection, and in some cases ignoring, of the LCY Central Committee standpoints on ending the organization of political meetings and unprincipled polemics between leaderships introduces ideological confusion and weakens the struggle for the solution of open problems in society and the confrontation of irredentists. This is stressed in statement from today's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium, which examined the current ideopolitical situation in the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina and in the country, particularly in connection with the events following the 16th LCY Central Committee session and the committee for organizing protest meetings of Serbs and Montenegrin's announcement on the holding of meetings in Bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

The exceptionally difficult situation in Kosovo and cases where the rights and freedoms of citizens of serbian and montenegrin nationality have been violated have made understandable activities drawing attention to the intolerable situation and calling for its effective resolution and the strengthening of constitutionality and legality. However, the statement stresses that this is not the case with the activities of the committee for organizing protest meetings of Serbs and Montenegrins, which is seeking to appear as an independent political base across the entire country. This committee is issuing ultimatums from its own platform, according to its own assessment of the place and times, and is calling for political meetings and other demonstrations without regard for their political and other consequences.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium takes the view that rallying on a national basis in the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina is incompatible with its historical essence, the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles on which it was founded, and the entire experience of the common struggle and lives of the Serbs, Croats, Muslims, and other nations and nationalities who are living there in freedom and equality. Our entire experience shows that this is not, nor can it be a basis and way for resolving intranational problems in Kosovo, nor anywhere else in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium concludes that support cannot be given to the oerganization of nationalist political meetings in Bosnia-Hercegovina and that this should be opposed by all democratic means, political action, and legal methods.

By convening in the form of an ultimatum a meeting in Jajce on 10 September, the committee for organizing protest meetings of Serbs and Montenegrins introduces into our political practice methods of operation which have nothing in common with the democratic achievements which we are realizing and persistently and painstakingly building. Such an attitude does not contribute to creating an atmosphere in which the genuine understanding of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia for the position of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo can be displayed, but rather transfers the emphasis to other issues and other debates and sows mistrust and concern about the state of affairs which such a political practice engenders.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium considers that the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium in accordance with the standpoints unanimously adopted at the 16th LCY Central Committee session are obligated and responsible for doing everything to put a stop to political meetings and prevent them from being held in the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Central Committee Presidium has addressed itself to these organs to this end with the demand that the unanimously adopted standpoints be uniformly and consistently implemented. [passage omitted]